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Committee on Un-American Activities

House

87th Congress

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# COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES

(Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962)

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

---

APRIL 25 AND 27 AND OCTOBER 4, 1962

---

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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REPORT ON THE  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
JAN 2 1963

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WASHINGTON : 1962

## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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\* \* \* \* \*

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES

(Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962)

### INTRODUCTION

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS) are organizations which were formed at the end of World War II, under the direction of Moscow, for the purpose of capturing the minds of youth around the globe. Beginning in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1947 and every 2 years thereafter through 1959, these groups jointly sponsored a World Youth Festival. After a first-time lapse of 3 years between festivals, the eighth and most recent one was held in Helsinki, Finland, during the summer of 1962.

World Youth Festivals are always ballyhooed by their sponsors as democratic forums for airing and advancing the aspirations of young people everywhere. In reality, however, every one of them has been devised—and used—primarily as a medium for disseminating Communist propaganda. These festivals have traditionally been the scenes of vicious Communist attacks upon the United States.

Each World Youth Festival is run by an International Preparatory Committee (IPC), appointed by the WFDY and the IUS. Hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960 disclosed that the IPC which had ruled over the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna in 1959 was unquestionably Communist dominated. The makeup of the IPC for the 1962 Festival was no different, according to the August 6, 1962, edition of *Helsinki Youth News*, which identified and gave the backgrounds of the 19 IPC leaders who “carry the main burden of running this Festival.” Most of them had Communist and pro-Communist records. The majority had been active in the World Federation of Democratic Youth or the International Union of Students. Ten were known Communist Party members and four others, not identified by the *Helsinki Youth News* as Communists, were from the USSR and Poland. Furthermore, the IPC member appointed by the 19 to put its Festival plans into operation was a well-known, 37-year-old French Communist, Jean Garcias. This same “youth” had also served as operational director of the Vienna Festival 3 years earlier.

The theme chosen for the 1962 Festival was the much-used Communist propaganda slogan, “Peace and Friendship.” Past festival themes had reflected Soviet propaganda lines on nuclear weapons, disarmament, the people’s “liberation” struggle in Viet Nam, and the people’s fight against “imperialist” aggression in Korea.

On October 14 and 15, 1961, 37 people met without fanfare on the University of Chicago campus for the purpose of forming a United States Festival Committee (USFC) to organize the American delegation to the Eighth World Youth Festival. A significant outcome of

the Chicago meetings was that most of the USFC leaders selected at that time were also to become the leaders of the 480-member U.S. delegation which eventually went to Finland. Not only were the rank-and-file participants in the delegation to be denied an opportunity to choose their own leaders, but they were also to be thwarted from contributing to the official voice of the American group at the Helsinki Festival.

No general announcement was made about the formation of the United States Festival Committee until 2 months after the Chicago meetings. One of the first newspaper reports about the USFC appeared in the December 16, 1961, edition of *People's World*, the Communist Party's West Coast organ. Thereafter, the activities of the USFC were given extensive coverage by Communist-influenced organs and strong support by Communist sympathizers.

Many of the USFC leaders had records of affiliation with pro-Communist causes. A USFC advertisement in the Communist-line *National Guardian* newspaper of February 5, 1962, however, claimed that:

The initiators of this movement in the United States are a former college secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; a national councilman of the Student Peace Union; a former chairman of SLATE at Berkeley \* \* \*.

The *National Guardian* for April 2, 1962, printed a letter from three prominent supporters of Communist fronts, urging financial contributions to the USFC. The authors of the letter were Willard Uphaus, Carlton B. Goodlett, and Victor Rabinowitz.

On April 24, 1962, *The Worker* (Communist Party newspaper) announced a "Folk and Jazz Concert" to raise funds for the USFC. Identified Communist Party member Pete Seeger was listed among persons scheduled to perform.

*The Worker* of June 12, 1962, reported that "fifty educators, churchmen and community leaders" had signed a statement encouraging American youths to participate in the Eighth World Youth Festival. Initiators of the statement were Carlton B. Goodlett and the Reverend George A. Akerly.

Among the 13 people identified by *The Worker* as part of the group which signed the Goodlett-Akerly statement were an identified member of the Communist Party and a half-dozen others with extensive records of Communist-front activity. Coincidentally, or otherwise, 10 of these 13 people had been among the signers of a full-page advertisement calling for the abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities which appeared in the *New York Times* on February 22, 1962.

The USFC received help in recruiting delegates to Helsinki from a number of local Festival committees formed on college campuses and in various cities throughout the country. Participants and leaders in some of these groups were either Communist Party members or openly favorable to Communist causes. The head of the San Francisco Festival Committee, for instance, was Patrick Hallinan, the son of Vincent Hallinan, candidate of the Communist-controlled Progressive Party for President of the United States in 1952. Young Hallinan was one of 62 persons from the Bay Area who several years ago planned to go to Cuba to build a school for Communist dictator



Fidel Castro, despite a State Department prohibition against such activity.

Although there is no doubt that the Eighth World Youth Festival was a Communist-controlled affair and the leadership of the American delegation was pro-Communist, the committee would not conclude this introduction to the synopsis and hearing transcripts which follow without acknowledging that by no means were all members of the American delegation Communists or dupes of the Communists. As will be clearly seen on subsequent pages, some exceedingly patriotic young people knowingly journeyed to the Communist-dominated Festival for the purpose of defending the interests and prestige of the United States. The Nation is indebted to the fine young Americans who pursued this noble endeavor.



## COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES

(Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962)

### SYNOPSIS

In April 1962, the committee held 4 days of executive hearings in Los Angeles on "united front" techniques of the Communist Party in the Southern California District. One of the subpoenaed witnesses was Marco Schneck, who, according to preliminary committee investigation, was a member of both the District Committee and the Youth Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Schneck was also chairman of the Los Angeles Festival Committee, which had been recruiting pro-Communists for the Eighth World Youth Festival in Helsinki, Finland, and at the same time attempting to prevent pro-Americans from becoming members of this country's delegation.

Marco Schneck was an uncooperative witness, invoking constitutional privileges, including the fifth amendment, on nearly every question asked him. Nevertheless, pertinent excerpts from the transcript of the committee's interrogation of him are printed in this document, beginning on page 1791, to show Schneck's Communist Party background and his part in recruiting youth for the Festival, as determined by the committee's investigation.

Another witness at the Los Angeles hearings was Paul Rosenstein, also a member of the Los Angeles Festival Committee, who subsequently became part of the pro-Communist hierarchy of the American delegation at Helsinki. Preliminary investigation revealed that this witness was a member of the Youth Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Rosenstein invoked the fifth amendment when asked about the Los Angeles Festival Committee and if he were a member of the Communist Party. He declined to answer whether he and Schneck had attended the Chicago convention of the United States Festival Committee. Rosenstein's testimony is not included in this document because it provides little information about the Youth Festival that is not contained in the transcript of Schneck's appearance.<sup>1</sup>

On October 4, 1962, the committee held public hearings in Washington, D.C., on the Eighth World Youth Festival which had taken place in Helsinki, Finland, from July 29 through August 6, 1962.

Prior to the Festival, the committee had been contacted by about 10 anti-Communist young people who said they planned to go to Helsinki with the American delegation and, upon return, would be glad to inform the committee of the events that occurred in Finland. Two

<sup>1</sup> The testimony of Paul Rosenstein will be released in conjunction with a forthcoming report on the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

of these persons became witnesses at the public and executive hearings in Washington on October 4.

The first was Donald Quinlan, 20-year-old junior at Fordham University in New York City. A summary of his experiences and observations in connection with the Eighth World Youth Festival follows:

Mr. Quinlan first contacted the United States Festival Committee in the spring of 1962, several weeks before the April 15 deadline for applications for the trip to Helsinki. Periodically, thereafter, he went to the USFC office at 460 Park Avenue South in New York City and helped with routine work such as typing, mailing letters, etc. In that way he became acquainted with a number of the leaders of the USFC, including the chairman and executive director, Michael Myerson.

Myerson was a recent graduate of the University of California. While in attendance there, he had been president of SLATE, a leftist student political group which became so radical that its accreditation as a campus organization was voided by the university. Under the leadership of Myerson, SLATE participated energetically in the Communist-inspired San Francisco riots against this committee in May 1960.

While working at USFC headquarters, Quinlan learned that Myerson, along with Michael Tigar and Richard Prosten, members of the board of directors and in charge of the organization's operations on the West Coast and in the Middle West, respectively, formed the real leadership of the American delegation to Helsinki. In fact, when the group arrived in Finland, Myerson referred to himself, Tigar, and Prosten as the "troika" of the Festival. Another member of the board was Norman Berkowitz, who stayed in the New York office most of the time and was in charge of USFC's East Coast operations.

Like Myerson, Michael Tigar was once chairman of SLATE at the University of California. He also was a leader of an attack on the university's ROTC program and headed a campus campaign in behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Tigar has been active in student movements to block and abolish activities of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Behind the "troika" of Myerson, Tigar, and Prosten, Quinlan identified USFC's secondary leaders as Norman Berkowitz; Bert Weinstein, assistant executive secretary; Barbara Rabinowitz, public relations director; and Paul Rosenstein, who was previously mentioned in connection with the Los Angeles hearings.

Fundraising and processing of applications were two primary functions of the USFC office in New York. Mr. Quinlan testified, however, that it was impossible to learn, as an observer in the office, just how the Festival applications were screened because they were treated very secretly by Berkowitz, who even took them home with him for safekeeping.

Nevertheless, Quinlan learned that an application from Donald J. Devine was rejected by USFC because he had been active with the Young Americans for Freedom, an anti-Communist organization.

When the American delegation arrived in Helsinki, the Myerson-Prosten-Tigar "troika" was recognized as the leadership of the U.S. group by the International Preparatory Committee, which ran the Eighth World Youth Festival. The "troika" and the secondary

USFC leaders mentioned by Quinlan were about the only Americans the IPC would deal with.

Paul Rosenstein's job at the Festival was seeing that delegates' identifications were checked, that they were properly registered, and that nondelegates were kept out of meetings of the American group.

Quinlan said that the American delegation was poorly organized at the Festival, with only the previously mentioned leaders knowing what was going on much of the time. The rank-and-file members were not consulted about any delegation decisions. They were simply given instructions from the leaders, often by means of a loudspeaker.

When asked by the committee counsel to describe the general orientation of the Festival, Quinlan suggested that the two words which would best describe it were "Hate America." He said that the theme of most every seminar and meeting would be along the lines of "Down with the imperialist U.S.," "Down with neocolonialism," or "Down with American and Federal colonialism."

The witness testified that the Festival not only tried to make the free world—and particularly the United States—look bad politically, but also from a cultural standpoint. Said Quinlan—

cultural programs were so arranged that the Western countries, with their amateur groups, would be in sharp contrast to the Communist countries who came with professional groups \* \* \* so that the effect was to give the "obvious superiority" of the Eastern countries in cultural events.

One of the alleged purposes of the Festival, to promote informal person-to-person contacts among delegates from different regions of the world, was all but impossible to achieve because of the widely scattered locations in which the various groups were housed. Many delegations lived on ships which could not be boarded by strangers without a personal invitation. When interdelegation meetings were held, they were so highly organized that there was little time for person-to-person contact.

A double standard for pro-Communist and anti-Communist interests prevailed at the Festival. Mr. Quinlan provided several examples of this.

When people such as the Hungarian youths now living outside Hungary put in an appearance at the Festival, they were not allowed to speak, ostensibly because they did not have the approval of the Hungarian Government. On the other hand, pro-Communist exiles from Spain were permitted to speak and participate in the Festival, when quite obviously they were not sanctioned by the Spanish Government.

At one seminar a Canadian delegate made a speech in which he took an anti-Soviet position. Chinese Communist delegates were permitted to make a rebuttal. Later, at the same seminar, an American girl attempted to rebut anti-U.S. propaganda, but she was refused the floor.

Back in the United States, before the Festival took place, the USFC had said in a published statement:

The United States Festival Committee intends to use all its influence to guarantee the fullest discussion possible and to permit the freest expression of point of view.

At the Helsinki Festival, however, according to Quinlan, the leadership of the U.S. delegation made no protest about numerous flagrant curtailments of freedom of speech. The leadership only reacted with surprise that any American delegates wished to express anti-Soviet views.

The American delegation had a display table which was stocked with Communist Party and Communist-front literature published in the United States, including *New Horizons for Youth*, a publication of the U.S. Communist Party's Youth Commission. When anti-Communist U.S. pamphlets were put there, they would suddenly disappear completely, apparently having been removed by the delegation leadership.

Quinlan reported that in the Festival's closing-day parade such signs as "No more Hiroshimas" and "Close down military bases on foreign soil" were allowed, but one saying, "No more Soviet tests," was removed.

Of the 440 persons Quinlan estimated there were in the American delegation, he said about one fifth was anti-Communist, two fifths were leftist-pacifist, and the remaining two fifths were Communist or pro-Communist.

The second witness to testify at the committee's public hearings in Washington on October 4, 1962, was Miss Ann S. Eccles, 25, an office-worker, of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Miss Eccles corroborated many of the facts supplied by Mr. Quinlan. She, too, worked in the USFC office in New York before the Festival. Miss Eccles had made several telephone calls to the office to check the status of her Festival application when, on one occasion, she was asked if she would come into the office and do some work for the USFC. It was not until after she had worked in the office four different times that Norman Berkowitz finally said that her application was approved.

Miss Eccles told about an anti-Communist American delegate who obtained permission to speak at one of the Eighth World Youth Festival seminars, but cut his prepared hour-long remarks down to a quarter of that time because the chairman had been limiting all speeches to 10 minutes so that each could be followed by a question-and-answer period. But when the American finished, there was no question-and-answer period. Then a Russian spoke for an hour and 15 minutes, followed by a Hungarian who spoke for 35 or 40 minutes more.

During this seminar, the same American delegate (a Mr. Ingels) heard a North Korean claim that during the Korean war the American soldiers used Korean babies for cannon fodder. Miss Eccles described what then occurred:

Mr. Ingels stood up, even though he was shouted down, and could not control himself and said, "That is a lie." The rest of the Americans who were there immediately acted embarrassed and shunned him, and the Korean delegate demanded an instant apology. He came around with 20 of his people and stated that his delegation had been insulted. Mr. Ingels finally did apologize for insulting the delegation, but he did

not retract the statement that it was a lie. I doubt, though, that this was noted—the propaganda impact of the American apologizing seemed to be sufficient.

Miss Eccles also testified about a seminar on cinematography which she attended. When a delegate from Senegal was given the floor, he said that there was no movie industry in his country, so he used his allotted time to attack American "imperialism." Miss Eccles said this delegate was heard to give the exact same speech, less his remarks about the movie industry, at a different seminar.

The lady witness agreed with Mr. Quinlan's report that the leadership of the American delegation made no protest about the undemocratic procedures which marked the Festival. In contrast, the whole Ceylonese delegation and individuals from other groups walked out after realizing that they were being used for Communist propaganda purposes.

After the public hearings were completed on October 4, both Mr. Quinlan and Miss Eccles gave additional testimony in executive session. All of their testimony in both sessions is published with this document.

From their executive testimony, the following items are summarized:

On the opening-day's parade at the Helsinki Festival, the American delegation was supposed to sing "America the Beautiful." When a few persons started to sing it, they were drowned out by other American delegates singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" and "We Ain't Going To Study War No More."

When the Cuban delegation entered the parade shouting, "Cuba si, Yankee no," many Americans joined in the shouting of that slogan.

A Hungarian youth, living in exile and claiming to represent 6,000 young exiled Hungarians, had been refused recognition as a delegate by the Festival and was unable to get the floor at any of the seminars. Finally at one seminar, an anti-Communist American delegate got the floor for himself after much effort and then immediately turned it over to the exiled Hungarian leader. As the Hungarian tried to speak, shouts of "Fascist" filled the hall, and he was unable to be heard.

At another seminar at which the United States had been under a particularly heavy attack, a pro-Communist American girl was asked by a delegate from another country what nation she was from, and the American replied that she was Cuban.

On the last day of the Festival, after many of the delegations had already departed from Helsinki, the International Preparatory Committee permitted a free forum. Why? The Soviet press corps was on hand in full force with floodlights, cameras, and microphones to record the "democratic" procedures which prevailed at the Eighth World Youth Festival.





## COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES

(Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962)

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[The following testimony taken by the committee in executive session in Los Angeles, Calif., on April 25 and 27, 1962, which pertains to the subject of the Eighth World Youth Festival is released and printed on pp. 1791-1802 preceding the testimony received in Washington, D.C., on October 4, 1962.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 8 a.m., in Room 519, United States Federal Building, Los Angeles, Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle, William M. Tuck, Gordon H. Scherer, and August E. Johansen.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director, and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. The subcommittee will come to order.

\* \* \* \* \*

TESTIMONY OF MARCO SCHNECK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
CLAUDE V. WORRELL

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your name and spell it, please, both your first and last names?

Mr. SCHNECK. My name is M-a-r-c-o S-c-h-n-e-c-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that the witness is accompanied by counsel.

Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. WORRELL. My name is Claude Worrell.

Mr. SCHNECK. May I ask the Chair a question?

I was subpoenaed in front of this committee in 1959 and I received a telegram postponing me. The day I came, as per telegram, the

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<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

committee had apparently left, and I think I am entitled to the witness fee, being as I came and was never informed that I didn't have to show up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I agree with him entirely if that is a fact.

Mr. SCHNECK. I have the subpoena with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you get in touch with the committee about it?

Mr. SCHNECK. I went down to the Statler, I believe, a few minutes later and tried to call Mr. Walter, but he wasn't in.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest the staff take it up with him and try to settle the matter.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, we will do that and we are glad you called it to our attention.

Mr. TAVENNER. You appear here pursuant to a subpoena served on you?

Mr. SCHNECK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. Schneck?

Mr. SCHNECK. I'd like to question the legislative purpose or pertinence of this hearing.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, will you read the statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

The committee's resolution, adopted January 17, 1962, authorizing these hearings, adequately sets forth the subjects and purposes.

This is in a statement that the chairman of the subcommittee made at the opening of these hearings. The resolution controlling the first phase of the hearings reads as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, that a hearing by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Los Angeles, California, at such time as the Chairman may designate relating to the structure, objectives and activities of the Communist Party in Southern California for the legislative purpose of receiving information designed to aid the Committee and Congress in determining whether the Internal Security Act of 1950 should be amended in a manner to make unlawful membership in the Communist Party of the United States \* \* \*.

The chairman of the subcommittee also explained that at the time that resolution was passed, on January 17, the staff of this committee was assisting him in the preparation of a bill which he introduced on January 30 of this year, which is H.R. 9944, which amends the Internal Security Act of 1950—that is, amends the registration provisions of it—and makes membership in the Communist Party unlawful, and that bill has been referred to this committee, and these hearings relate to that.

Now, if you will proceed to answer the question, please.

Mr. SCHNECK. What was the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question was, Where do you reside?

Mr. SCHNECK. I am going to decline to answer that, first, because I think the mandate authorizing this committee is unconstitutional; I think the committee is not following the mandate, as stated, in any case; and, thirdly, I am going to call on all the rights, responsibilities, privileges, and amenities granted me by the entire Constitution of the United States, and most specifically the first, fourth, and fifth and ninth amendments to the Bill of Rights.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness. You have heard the statement of the pertinency, and I believe a congress-

sional committee is always entitled to know the identity of a person appearing before the committee.

Identity is always pertinent, and that is one of the purposes of that question. I direct you to answer.

Mr. SCHNECK. I have answered the question as to my name, thereby identifying myself. I am here by virtue of subpoena which was served on me and I am declining to answer that question on the grounds of all the privileges—

Mr. SCHERER. What is the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. His address.

Mr. SCHNECK. —guaranteed me by the Constitution, and most specifically the first, fourth, fifth, and ninth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, do you honestly believe that to answer the question as to where you live might lead to criminal prosecution?

Mr. SCHNECK. Yes, I do.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to compliment counsel in this case. This is the first counsel before us that understood the law with reference to that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, the first one during these hearings.

Mr. Schneck, you stated that you are appearing here pursuant to a subpoena served on you.

I hand you what purports to be a copy of the subpoena.

Do you recognize that as a copy of the subpoena served on you?

Mr. SCHNECK. It looks like it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the subpoena in evidence and ask it be marked Schneck Exhibit No. 1.

I read the return by the deputy sheriff who served the subpoena, which is as follows:

I made service of the within subpoena by delivering in person [to] the within-named person at his home, 3336 Hamilton Way, Apt. No. 4, Los Angeles, California, at 7:00 o'clock, a.m., on the 12th day of April, 1962. Dated April 12th, 1962. Peter J. Pitchess, by D. S. Epperson [Deputy].

Mr. DOYLE. The subpoena will be received and so marked.

(Document marked "Schneck Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation, Mr. Schneck?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aren't you attending UCLA?

Mr. SCHNECK. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aren't you enrolled in the Preventive Medicine Department of the University of California at Los Angeles?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that question also on the same grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. It manifestly could not subject you to criminal prosecution to state when and where you were born.

Mr. SCHNECK. The same answer holds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Weren't you born in Santiago, Chile, on October 3, 1931?

Mr. SCHNECK. Would you repeat that, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Weren't you born in Santiago, Chile, on October 3, 1931?

Mr. SCHNECK. Same answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, this is not an answer. In other words, if he wishes to decline on the same grounds——

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated, and again the constitutional guarantees, and most specifically the first, fourth, fifth, and ninth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should have a direction for the witness to answer when and where he was born, because I cannot possibly see how that might lead to a criminal prosecution.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a citizen of the United States, sir?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

I asked whether he was a citizen of the United States; that cannot possibly incriminate him.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I have a direction that the witness answer the question?

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. SCHNECK. Decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do we have any information, Counsel, as to whether this witness is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you asked him whether or not he was naturalized?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have asked him where he was born.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, what is the name of the community or the town in Chile where you were born?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct you to answer. It is ridiculous for you to undertake to claim the constitutional provision, in our judgment, as to where you were born.

Mr. SCHNECK. I don't think it's ridiculous and I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I think that we might pursue the question of his entry into the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Obviously there must be something wrong. I would suggest that counsel for the committee in the investigation make inquiry as to whether this man is a citizen of the United States and in view of his testimony here today, if it should develop that he is a naturalized citizen, we might consider referring the matter to the Justice Department.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California, Mr. Schneck?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Is this man an exchange student of any kind?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, I don't think so. Our information is that his parents live in Los Angeles, which I think would disqualify him from being in that category.

Our investigation does show that he arrived in California in 1944; that would also eliminate the matter that you are referring to.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Does it indicate that his parents are citizens of the United States, or natives of the United States?

Mr. TAVENNER. We do not know.

Mr. SCHNECK, were you not identified with the American Youth for Democracy while that organization was in existence?

Mr. SCHNECK. Would you explain, please, what you mean by "identified"?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, were you a member of it?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the American Youth for Democracy went out of existence, were you one of the leading figures in building the succeeding organization, known as the Labor Youth League?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1958, did you not become a member of the Youth Commission of the Communist Party in the Southern District of California?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time this committee endeavored to hear you in 1959, the investigation disclosed that you had attended the First Convention of the newly formed Southern California District of California, which was held on April 13-14, 1957.

Was that a correct statement, that you did attend such a convention?

Mr. JOHANSEN. That was of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party, yes.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also attend the second session of the Second Convention of the Communist Party of the Southern District of California, which was held in January of 1960?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee's investigation has disclosed that you were elected on January 31, 1960, as one of the 30-member District Committee of the Communist Party for the Southern District of California, a newly organized group; is that correct?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Charlene Mitchell, chairman of the Youth Commission of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, delivered a lengthy report on party youth work at the first session of the Second Convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Are you familiar with the contents of her report?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. This report, which was approved by the convention, stated that the organization of young Communists in Los Angeles has taken many forms since the dissolution of the Labor Youth League, but the present organization was a Communist Party youth club.

Now, were you a member of the Los Angeles Communist Party Youth Club?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The main task for Communist youth, this report states, is to master the party's united-front strategy.

This is explained as finding "ways and means of establishing more extensive personal contacts and friendships, and wider formal and informal organized political relationships" with others. United action on certain issues must be sought with left-wing, progressive, middle-of-the-road, and even conservative forces, this report states.

Will you tell the committee, please, what you consider to be the purposes of such united-front activities by the Communist youth groups?

Mr. SCHNECK. Are you asking for my opinion?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHNECK. I don't choose to give you my opinion on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I did not mean to ask you for your opinion. I am asking for your knowledge of the purposes.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What purpose would such united-front activities serve? What purpose is it sought to serve?

Mr. SCHNECK. Is that a question as to my knowledge?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer it on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "contact with mass organizations of young people" and using the "correct united front approach," the party youth organizations seek to recruit other young people into supporting Communist causes and eventually into active party membership; is that not true?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The chairman of the District Youth Commission, that is Charlene Mitchell, found it an encouraging sign that a large delegation from southern California attended the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna in 1959.

These festivals are sponsored by the Communist-controlled International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, are they not?

Mr. SCHNECK. If that is a question, I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What preparations have been made for encouraging a large delegation to the Eighth World Youth Festival, which will be held in Helsinki in the summer of 1962?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. In fact, a meeting was sponsored by the Helsinki Organizing Committee for the Eighth World Youth Festival and was held in your home at 3336 Hamilton Way, Los Angeles; was it not?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The purpose of this Helsinki Organizing Committee meeting in your home was to organize a group of Communist and pro-Communist students to attend the Festival in Helsinki, was it not?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The original name of the Helsinki Organizing Committee was changed to the Los Angeles Festival Committee, was it not?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were made the chairman of this committee, were you not?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I offer in evidence as Exhibit No. 2 a photostatic copy of a letter bearing date, November 18, 1961, bearing the letterhead "Los Angeles Festival Committee, 1283 Redondo Blvd., Los Angeles 19, Calif." signed—or purportedly signed by Marco Schneck, chairman, Los Angeles Festival Committee.

May it be introduced in evidence and marked Schneck Exhibit No. 2?

Mr. DOYLE. It will be so received and so marked.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will the witness please examine the letter and state whether or not the signature there is a facsimile of his signature?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the witness look at the letter before he answered my question?

Mr. DOYLE. I did not observe him doing so. His counsel——

Mr. SCHNECK. I saw the letter.

Mr. DOYLE. —his counsel looked at it, the witness did not.

Mr. SCHNECK. I saw it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You saw the letter, but you did not have an opportunity to see the signature, did you?

Mr. DOYLE. I observed him very carefully. He did not look at the exhibit.

Mr. SCHNECK. To rest your minds, I see it now and I have the same answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I think it's in order to mention—I don't know that it's in any way improper—but he's been much more assiduous in making notes and sort of do-it-yourself stenographer, apparently, than he is in viewing exhibits.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think, Mr. Chairman, it is very significant that the witness would refuse to answer the question before he had seen the signature that was presented to him.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to read this letter for the information of the committee.

SCHNECK EXHIBIT No. 2

NOVEMBER 18, 1961.

Dear friend;

This is to introduce ourselves to you. We are a newly established service organization whose purpose is to acquaint young people of the Southern California area with the VIII World Youth Festival, to be held in Helsinki, Finland in the summer of 1962, and to encourage and assist their participation in it.

We feel that the problem of ensuring peace cannot be ignored by American Young people. The events of the Helsinki Festival will help create a basis for international understanding, and be a step toward the reduction of existing world tensions.

We are planning a conference on Sunday, Nov. 19, from 1:00 to 4:00 P.M. at 1251 So. St. Andrews Pl. L.A. We are inviting both individuals and representatives of various church youth groups, student organizations, cultural groups, etc., to attend (without commitment or obligation of course). Our aim is to acquaint young people with the Festival and with our Committee.

We hope to be able to present a film of the 1959 (VII) Festival in Vienna, to present our plans for the coming months, and to answer questions.

Enclosed you will find a fact sheet and a self addressed post card for your early remittance.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

/s/ Marco Schneck  
MARCO SCHNECK  
Chairman, L.A. Festival Comm.

Mr. DOYLE. The date of that letter?

Mr. TAVENNER. November 18, 1961.

Mr. DOYLE. Is there a return address on the letter?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, it's Los Angeles Festival Committee, 1283 Redondo Boulevard, Los Angeles 19, California.

Mr. Schneck, on November 18, 1961, the date of that letter, were you a member of the Youth Commission of the Communist Party for the Southern District of California?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Schneck, you and Paul Rosenstein made a trip to Chicago to the United States Festival Committee convention, did you not?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The United States Festival Committee is the administrative group organized to handle information and policy of the group attending the Eighth World Youth Festival, isn't that true?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does not the plan for recruitment of young people to attend this Festival require that each applicant take and file an application with the U.S. Festival Committee before he is allowed to attend as a delegate to Helsinki, is that right?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the reason for that requirement is that those responsible, in your area, for recruiting young people want to avoid any possibility of trouble in the next World Youth Festival by attendance of young people who are actually pro-American students, instead of pro-Communist students; isn't that true?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are engaging now in a plan to attempt to eliminated from attendance at this Festival in Helsinki persons that you consider are pro-American students?

Mr. SCHERER. And to get those that are pro-Communist?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right.

Mr. SCHNECK. I didn't understand that as a question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Shall I repeat it?

Mr. SCHNECK. Was it a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the freedom of speech he's talking about.

Mr. DOYLE. It is the declination of freedom of speech.

Mr. SCHERER. They prate so much about freedom of speech and charge this committee with depriving people of freedom of speech. They are the greatest offenders.

Mr. SCHNECK. That's your opinion, not mine.

Mr. SCHERER. Is my opinion wrong? Go ahead.

Mr. SCHNECK. Thank you.



Mr. DOYLE. You volunteered an observation there, Witness.

Mr. Scherer asked you a dignified question. What is your answer?

Mr. SCHNECK. I don't have to give an answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. You volunteered an oral observation there to Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHNECK. I volunteer when I please, as I understand it.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, you can under the U.S. Constitution, thank God. You can't under other regulations.

Mr. SCHERER. I just asked him whether what I said was wrong; is it wrong, Witness?

Mr. SCHNECK. Mr. Scherer, that was your opinion, and all I said was that that was your opinion.

Now, I don't choose to enter into a long discussion with you; certainly not on your territory.

Mr. SCHERER. I asked you the question whether what I said is not correct.

Mr. SCHNECK. And I said that I don't intend to enter into discussion of this sort with you.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, you are at liberty to answer the question. I instruct you to answer the question.

Mr. SCHNECK. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. SCHERER. The question was whether or not you are engaged in a plan, right now, to prevent the attendance of pro-American students at the next Youth Festival in Helsinki and to fill that delegation with pro-Communists, like yourself, or Communists like yourself?

Now, is anything in that statement I made untrue?

Mr. SCHNECK. Mr. Tavenner asked me the same question; I answered it; and your question, I answered the same way, for the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let the record show that, on each occasion of the reference by counsel or a member of the committee to pro-American students, there has been a very obvious smirk on the witness' face. I have observed it very carefully.

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence and ask that it be marked Schneck Exhibit No. 3, a flier, making reference to the Youth Festival.

May it be received in evidence?

Mr. DOYLE. It will be so received and marked.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you hand it to the witness for his examination, and I want to state for the benefit of the witness, as well as the committee, that the note at the bottom was not part of the original flier, but was added onto it by the staff of the committee, because it represented the names of the owners of the residence referred to in the flier.

Mr. DOYLE. And does it name the owners or just the address?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, the document itself refers to the meeting to be held at a certain address.

The staff has checked this address and found it to be the address of the persons named on the document, which the committee has named on the document.

Do you recall sending out that flier?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to read this document, please.

### SCHNECK EXHIBIT No. 3

Hear a report from our representatives to the National Conference being held in Chicago this weekend. The Conference is being called to initiate a National Festival Committee to insure U.S. participation.

Travel agents inform us that time is running short for insuring European passage. . .

For specific information. . . .

COME HERE ALL!! THURSDAY, Oct. 19, (this year)—1961, 8:00 p.m. sharp!!

1758 No. Alexandria LA

labor tearfully donated—For more information call No 40851.

Now, the "No" notation stands for the Normandy telephone exchange, I am advised.

The office note placed on the bottom is that the address of 1758 North Alexandria, LA, is the address of Hugh and Dorothy Forest DeLacy.

\* \* \* \* \*

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FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1962

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, *Los Angeles, Calif.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

### AFTERNOON SESSION

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. DOYLE. May the record show that the subcommittee reconvened at 1:30 p.m., and that Messrs. Johansen, Tuck, and Doyle are present, therefore, a quorum of the subcommittee.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. WHEELER. Before we call the next witness, I have a short report to make to the committee, if it pleases the counsel.

Mr. Chairman, I was directed by the Chair to ascertain certain information concerning Marco Schneck, who appeared as a witness here on Wednesday, and he was directed to reappear this afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Marco Schneck is employed by the UCLA Preventive Medicine Department of the University of California in Los Angeles, and I was to ascertain if this particular unit at UCLA had a Government grant.

I have talked to the person who is the head of this department and I have been advised that they do have a grant from the Government and it is from the National Institutes of Health. There is a considerable grant for equipment, and they are doing research on making or developing some type of medical computer.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Now, it is unclassified. There are 20 persons employed under this grant. The witness, Marco Schneck, is one of the 20 employed under the grant.

I have been further advised by the department head that the employment of Marco Schneck will be terminated May 1.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have any knowledge as to why Marco Schneck will be terminated from his employment on May 1?

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Schneck has requested a leave of absence starting May 1, and the department head advised me that there is nothing exceptional about Mr. Schneck's work and he will be terminated rather than granted leave of absence on that date.

I might mention that Marco Schneck is the chairman of the Los Angeles Festival Committee, which is handling the transportation and obtaining the passports for the World Youth Festival in Helsinki, so we can probably reach the conclusion he has taken the leave of absence to go to Helsinki.

Mr. Schneck is here. He was directed to return at 2 o'clock today. The subcommittee can determine what they wish to do.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you want the record to show anything more than we now have?

Mr. TAVENNER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will come to order. May the record show that the Messrs. Tuck and Johansen and Doyle are present, therefore, a quorum of the subcommittee.

Proceed Counsel.

#### TESTIMONY OF MARCO SCHNECK—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Schneck, you were requested by the committee to report back this afternoon.

The committee has made a further investigation regarding your employment, and you should be reminded that you are still under oath.

Mr. SCHNECK. This is continuing testimony?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. As a result of this investigation, it has been learned that you are employed in a department of UCLA known as the Preventive Medicine Department; that that department is receiving a substantial grant from the Government of the United States for work being done; and that you are one of 20 persons who are engaged in the work involved as a result of that grant. Is that correct?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of all the privileges, responsibilities, immunities, and guarantees offered by the Constitution of the United States, and most particularly the first, fourth, fifth, and ninth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has also been learned by the committee that you have applied for leave of absence beginning May 1, so I want to inquire from you whether you have made application for a passport to engage in foreign travel?

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you propose to engage in foreign travel within the next 6 months?<sup>1</sup>

Mr. SCHNECK. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the Chair direct the witness not to take notes during the testimony.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right, his counsel is doing it. One ought to be enough.

Mr. SCHNECK. Are you directing me not to take notes?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. I think the questions being directed to you deserve your fullest attention, and you certainly are not giving it when you are sitting there scribbling notes.

Your counsel is also taking notes and that ought to be sufficient. We are entitled to your attention.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I have no questions.

Witness is excused. Thank you, Counsel.

(Witness excused.)

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Schneck had been issued a passport on December 2, 1959, which was valid until the end of 1962. He had, nevertheless, applied for a new passport in 1961, and this application was rejected by the State Department. He did not go to the Eighth World Youth Festival in the summer of 1962, although the committee had received information that he originally planned to travel to Helsinki as a member of the southern California delegation.

## COMMUNIST YOUTH ACTIVITIES

(Eighth World Youth Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962)

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; August E. Johansen, of Michigan; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., general counsel; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Every type of person in every land—no matter what their political, religious, economic, or social background; their trade or profession; their color, age, likes or dislikes—is a subject of Communist interest and an object of Communist propaganda.

There is one group of persons, however, that is—and has always been—a very special target of the Communists. This group is the youth of the world. Not only does the Communist movement always need and want new blood to swell its ranks and to guarantee its continued existence and growth, but youth has certain characteristics which are particularly valuable to a revolutionary movement and others which make it especially vulnerable to Communist blandishments.

Youth is idealistic. Communism holds out to it a great ideal—the remolding of human nature, the creation of the Communist man, a being superior to any which has walked the earth.

Youth wants a challenge. Communism offers it a great challenge—conquest of the entire world.

Youth is defiant and rebellious of authority. Communism is rebellion. It defies, and aims to destroy, all traditional authority.

Youth is impatient. Communism promises a quick solution to all the world's ills.

Youth is energetic, eager, daring. Communism can obviously make good use of such qualities.

Youth likes the secret, the conspiratorial. Communism is a conspiracy. Not only membership in the party, but much of the party's day-to-day operations are secretive and concealed.

Youth is often bitter, cynical, disillusioned. Communists are eager to make them completely bitter, cynical, and disillusioned as far as the present order is concerned.

Finally—and this is not to its discredit—youth is not the repository of all wisdom. Its knowledge is limited. It has much to learn. It can be tricked—and communism is the world's greatest confidence game. Never before in history have so many tricksters and swindlers been brought together in one group as are now organized in the Communist movement.

At its last National Convention, held in New York City in December 1959, the U.S. Communist Party adopted a resolution on the subject of youth which stated:

To work among youth is to work for the future. The present generation of youth \* \* \* is \* \* \* the base of the Party of the future.

The same resolution told the Communists that they were to give "first attention" to infiltrating existing youth organizations and that the party's youth work must be "a major area of mass work." The resolution claimed:

The youth membership of our Party is growing faster than that of any other section.

Addressing a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party in New York City on January 20, 1961, U.S. party leader Gus Hall said:

The [Communist] Party must give much higher priority for the work among youth in all fields of endeavor.

Eighty-one of the world's Communist parties met in Moscow in November 1960. The purpose of this meeting was to plan the steps which, they hope, will lead to the achievement of their goal of world conquest. Shortly thereafter, Nikita Khrushchev made a major address in which he summarized and interpreted the principal decisions of this gathering. He said:

The importance of working among the youth was stressed at the meeting. \* \* \* the latest revolutionary manifestations in a number of countries show that the young people can be a powerful revolutionary force. No political party can so attract the youth as the Communists—the most revolutionary of all parties, and the youth delight in revolutionary action.

Testifying before the House Appropriations Subcommittee in January of this year, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned:

The intensified drive of the party to attract youth continues unabated. Always anxious to spread its venom on college campuses across the Nation, it has launched an all-out campaign designed to lure youth into the web of communism.

To help capture the minds and energies of youth and bend them to its purposes, communism uses many devices. Immediately after the end of World War II, two international Communist fronts—the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students—were established for this purpose. Since the time of their formation, these organizations have been jointly sponsoring "World Youth Festivals for Peace and Friendship" at 2-year intervals. These festivals have brought thousands of youths from many lands together by capitalizing on youth's gregariousness and idealism—

and also on their natural revulsion against dying in war when they are just beginning to realize how much they have to live for.

For the most part, these festivals have been held behind the Iron Curtain where, by careful arrangement, staging, and control, seasoned Communist manipulators have been able to use the festivals to sell Communist-serving policies to youth leaders from all over the world, win their sympathy for the Soviet Union, and inflame them against non-Communist nations, particularly the United States.

The eighth such festival was held in Helsinki, Finland, last summer—the second one to be staged outside the Iron Curtain. This Festival, like the seventh, which was held in Vienna in the summer of 1959, was attended by a U.S. delegation of several hundreds. Some members of the delegation were Communists, some anti-Communists, some neutralists.

Today, on college campuses and wherever youth gathers, some members of this delegation are doing their best to convince the young people of this country that the Helsinki Festival was not a Communist fraud, but an independent gathering of youth leaders from all over the world whose only interest is peace and friendship; that the policies, "lines," and demands laid down at the gathering are the only ones which truly serve the cause of world peace and that they, therefore, merit wholehearted support. Other delegation members are doing just the opposite. They are trying to get the truth about the Festival, its nature, and aims across to their fellow students and youth.

The contest between these two opposing factions in the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki Festival is not something to be dismissed lightly. It is deadly serious. As the statements of Khrushchev, Gus Hall, and the U.S. Communist Party which have been quoted indicate, this is one of the battles that will help shape the future of this country and the world.

A few years ago a great friend of this country and foe of communism, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, in his book, *Crusade in Asia*, told why this battle is so important. He wrote:

In Manila, as everywhere else, the [Communists'] attack was launched upon—and later by—our bright young men, those to whom we were giving the best our country had to offer by way of education and opportunity, and from whom we had every reason to expect the best in return.

\* \* \* \* \*

Their [the Communists'] target was the intelligentsia.

\* \* \* \* \*

Aim for the young, the potential leaders, the cream of our youth! Aim for the good-looking, educated, intelligent, the *starry-eyed*!

This is still Communism's aim today: world youth, and the corruption of that youth! And, wherever possible, the indoctrination of children!

\* \* \* \* \*

I have seen the Communist \* \* \* net \* \* \* catch up youngsters who are underprivileged and have reason to protest, and others who are well provided for and have brilliant careers ahead. Many are well intentioned, but before they know it, they walk the path to treason.

The Committee on Un-American Activities is only too familiar, through its investigations, research, and hearings, with the personal tragedies which have been visited upon American families and the harm which has been done to this country when young Americans,

similar to those described by General Romulo, have fallen victim to Communist propaganda.

At this point I would like to insert in the record the text of the committee resolution authorizing these hearings. This resolution was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the committee on September 26, 1962.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to Communist techniques and propaganda employed in the organization and conduct of the Eighth World Youth Festival, held in Helsinki, July 29 through August 6, 1962, the legislative purpose being to add to the Committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security, when and if the exigencies of the situation require it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quinlan, will you please raise your right hand?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

#### TESTIMONY OF DONALD QUINLAN

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. QUINLAN. Donald Quinlan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. QUINLAN. I live in Milwaukee, Wis. I attend school at Fordham University, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your age?

Mr. QUINLAN. Twenty.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many years have you been in attendance at Fordham University?

Mr. QUINLAN. This is my third year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, were you a delegate to the Eighth World Youth Festival held in Helsinki, Finland, late July and early August this year?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your attending the Festival, did you make known to the Committee on Un-American Activities the fact that you planned to attend?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. I contacted the committee and kept them informed of my duties.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe at that time you stated that you would be willing to appear before the committee and advise it of any information you obtained during the course of that Festival.

Mr. QUINLAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to state that the committee was surprised, the staff was surprised, to receive similar offers from a number of youths scattered over the United States. Among them was Mr. Donald J. Devine, of New York; Mr. Edward A. Stevens, of New York; Mr. Henry Hirschmann, of New York; Miss Joan P. Lawton, of New York; Mr. Oliver R. Davidson,



of Ohio; Mr. and Mrs. Donald C. Ingels, of Minnesota; Duane C. Hill, also of Minnesota; and also another witness who is here today, Miss Ann Eccles, of New York.

Mr. QUINLAN, if, in the course of your testimony, you find it desirable to refer to any of your associates who were there, why, of course, you may do so.

When did you first make contact with the United States Festival Committee, Inc.?

Mr. QUINLAN. I believe it was in March of 1962, about 2 or 3 weeks prior to the original deadline for application for the Festival, which was originally April 15.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with the leadership of the United States Festival Committee?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. Through working in the office, I had a chance to meet and work with a number of the leaders of the Festival Committee. I also had a chance to meet them later at the Festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean, through the course of your working in the office?

Mr. QUINLAN. During the preparations for the Helsinki Festival, I would periodically go down to the office of the United States Festival Committee and perform various functions that they had, such as mailing, typing out names, and the other routine work that was involved in preparing for the Festival.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the headquarters located?

Mr. QUINLAN. I believe 460 Park Avenue South, in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was in charge?

Mr. QUINLAN. Normally Mr. Michael Myerson of the United States Festival Committee, but he was away from the office for the most part. It was usually taken care of either by Mr. Norman Berkowitz, of New York, or Bert Weinstein, of New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of the persons who constituted the leadership of the United States Festival Committee?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. I am taking these names from a sheet sent out by the United States Festival Committee that was on the letterhead that was printed. These people are listed as follows: The board of directors consisted of Michael Tigar, West Coast; Richard Prosten, Middle West; Norman Berkowitz, East Coast.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had better spell the names.

Mr. QUINLAN. Michael T-i-g-a-r. Richard Prosten, P-r-o-s-t-e-n. Norman Berkowitz, B-e-r-k-o-w-i-t-z.

The administrative board consisted of Michael Myerson, M-y-e-r-s-o-n, who was chairman and executive secretary.

Bert Weinstein, W-e-i-n-s-t-e-i-n, who is assistant executive secretary.

Miss Alix Dobkin, D-o-b-k-i-n, program coordinator.

Barbara Rabinowitz, R-a-b-i-n-o-w-i-t-z, who is public relations director.

Norman Berkowitz, B-e-r-k-o-w-i-t-z, financial director.

The national advisory board, a partial list, consisted of Peter Brownstone, graduate student, member of Student-Faculty Court, University of Chicago.

Kenneth Cloke, National Student Association delegate, representative-at-large to executive committee, at Berkeley campus of University of California.

Ronald Dorfman, chairman of Midwest Student Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee.

Leonard Friedman, student body president of University of Chicago.

Joe Johnson, founder, former president of NAACP at Hunter College.

David Levey, student body vice president of University of Chicago.

Jim McDonald, entertainer.

Jeff Mackler, community councilman at Antioch College, national councilman, Student Peace Union.

Jeffrey Segal, president, Roosevelt University student body; NSA delegate; chairman, Student Activities Board.

Alan Steinberg, former member of executive committee of Student Government, CCNY.

Mitchell Vogel, NSA delegate; chairman, Students for Democratic Rights; member, executive committee of Student Government, Roosevelt University, Chicago.

Michael Tigar, Student Government, member executive committee, Assoc. Students; former president of SLATE at Berkeley campus of University of California; broadcaster.

Richard Prosten, NSA coordinator at Roosevelt University.

Michael Myerson, former president of SLATE at the Berkeley campus of University of California.

Bert Weinstein, member of two student-faculty committees; former chairman of the Student Government Civil Liberties Committee, NSA delegate, CCNY.

Miss Alix Dobkin, student body president of the Tyler School of Art, Temple University.

Barbara Rabinowitz, associate editor, former editor in chief of *Observation Post*, CCNY.

Norman Berkowitz, founder, former chairman of SANE at Hunter College.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, of the leadership of this group identified by you, whom would you consider were the principal leaders?

MR. QUINLAN. At the Festival itself, Mr. Myerson, in an inter-delegation meeting with the Soviet Union, identified the troika of the Festival as himself, Michael Tigar, and Richard Prosten.

In addition, a number of people took an active role in the organization of the Festival Committee. They would include Norman Berkowitz, Bert Weinstein, Barbara Rabinowitz, and Paul Rosenstein.

(At this point Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

MR. TAVENNER. You have given the organizational identification of various persons who were active in this group. Does that appear on the letterhead or was that identification made by you?

MR. QUINLAN. This is identification which appears on the letterhead.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, describe as well as you can, the activities of the leaders that you mentioned, particularly the troika that you referred to, prior to the Festival in Helsinki, and the activities in this country before the Festival was underway?

MR. QUINLAN. Prior to the Festival itself, I was familiar, of course, only with Michael Myerson of New York. However, I heard through conversations with others of Mr. Tigar and Mr. Prosten.

The activities which I noticed that they engaged in included the usual activities of mailing and so on, receiving applications. In addition, Mr. Myerson took tours in which he attempted to recruit delegates, and during the course of which he would debate on the Festival and defend the Festival.

In the New York office, the members of the Festival Committee were active in raising money through personal solicitation, in interesting people in contributing to the Festival through various programs, which included a jazz concert and a meeting with a person from the FLN in Algeria and from Ghana, and at this meeting an attempt was made to raise funds and to interest people in the Festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any type of screening done as far as you know by this group as to those who would be solicited to attend the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. I know through friends, and Miss Eccles is a better source for this, that a number of people were rejected or refused acceptance before the deadline was reached, before the full number of delegates was reached, rather.

The CHAIRMAN. Who recommended the people to attend the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. I have no idea. However, one of the reasons for the difficulty in this was that the applications to the Festival Committee were not kept in the committee office but, instead, were kept in the charge of Norman Berkowitz, and that whatever selection process, if there was any, it would be impossible to determine by association at the office. We can determine only by the effects on people that we know.

I am thinking in particular of Mr. Devine, who was mentioned earlier, who applied and was refused acceptance, and even though he applied before Miss Eccles did, who later was accepted into the delegation. She can give you further details on this.

(At this point Mr. Schadeberg entered the hearing room.)

Mr. QUINLAN. The reason Mr. Devine was refused acceptance in the delegation is that he has been prominent in his activities in the Young Americans for Freedom and was known as such in New York at the time he applied.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that the list of those enrolled was kept secret by Mr. Berkowitz, who kept it in his own private custody.

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes. When I asked him whether or not I had signed my application—as a matter of fact, I did not—he had to wait several days until he could go home, pick up the application, and bring it to the office when I was scheduled to come down. At one time when I failed to show up, when I ordinarily would come, he took the application home rather than leave it in the office during the period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the committee, through its investigations, knows of a meeting held in Chicago in 1961 which was called the founding conference of the United States Festival Committee, that is, the Eighth World Youth Festival Committee. Did you attend that conference?

Mr. QUINLAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee in executive session, held in Los Angeles in April of this year, had a witness before it by the name of Paul Rosenstein, R-o-s-e-n-s-t-e-i-n. That testimony has not yet been made public, but in the course of that testimony the committee learned

that Paul Rosenstein had attended, along with a person by the name of Marco Schneck, this conference which was held in Chicago.

Did you have occasion, after going to Helsinki, to become acquainted with Paul Rosenstein or Marco Schneck?

Mr. QUINLAN. I had several occasions to become acquainted with Rosenstein. As a matter of fact, we were in the same room in delegation quarters in Helsinki.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should advise that Rosenstein refused to answer any questions relating to his part in the founding conference of the Festival in Chicago, relying upon the fifth amendment as the reason for his refusal to answer.

Now, was there an international organization which was known as the International Preparatory Committee?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the function of that committee?

Mr. QUINLAN. As far as we can tell, to run the Festival. It took charge of meetings, seminars, organization tickets, organizations, delegation headquarters, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether this International Preparatory Committee recognized the U.S. leadership in Helsinki of the persons you have identified here?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. For all practical purposes, all business with the International Preparatory Committee was handled through the people I mentioned. An instance I have in mind—when one of the delegates lost her pass, a replacement was obtained only by going through the delegation leadership to the International Preparatory Committee.

In other matters, the IPC conferred a number of times with the troika, as they have been identified, and certain other members that I cited as being the leadership of the U.S. delegation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the three persons who were considered as the troika?

Mr. QUINLAN. Mr. Myerson, Mr. Prosten, and Mr. Tigar.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was the U.S. group organized after arriving in Helsinki?

Mr. QUINLAN. The organization was something that seemed to be defective. It revolved around the officers and the people who would take charge of various committees. These people would be informed and the rest of the delegation was kept in the dark for the most part. The organization would run on the order of Mr. Myerson, Mr. Prosten, and Mr. Tigar making most of the decisions, handing them out through Mr. Alan Rabinowitz, Mr. Berkowitz, Mr. Weinstein, Mr. Rosenstein, and a number of other people.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you mentioned Mr. Rosenstein, is that Mr. Paul Rosenstein, the person to whom I referred?

Mr. QUINLAN. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other functions did Mr. Rosenstein perform as far as you know during the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. I know at one time that he was in charge of arranging for people to sit at the desk to check delegates' identification and, in addition, to take custody of the list of delegates which was used to check for room numbers, whether or not these people had paid for a night at the Festival headquarters prior to the opening of the Fes-

tival, and the people who had actually registered for the Festival, so that his position was one of keeping a watch on this list and a watch on the delegates coming into the school.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were decisions made or arrived at which affected the entire U.S. group of delegates?

Mr. QUINLAN. I have no idea how they were arrived at. I know only they were nonsource, without consulting any members of the delegation.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were customarily announced by whom?

Mr. QUINLAN. By Mr. Myerson at meetings, Mr. Tigar on the loud-speaker, or other members if they weren't present.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee would be anxious to learn just how this Festival was oriented in its approach to questions of national interest.

Mr. QUINLAN. The entire Festival?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, the Festival as a whole.

Mr. QUINLAN. It can be summed up in a few words. The best two would be "Hate America." The orientation of almost every seminar and meeting, interdelegation meeting, and so on, would be "Down with the imperialist U.S.," "Down with neocolonialism," "Down with American and Federal colonialism," occasionally varied by charges of "German militarism, aided and abetted by the U.S."

In addition, not only were the seminars in the various obviously political meetings so oriented to throw a bad light on the Western countries, particularly the United States, but even such things as cultural programs were so arranged that the Western countries, with their amateur groups, would be in sharp contrast to the Communist countries who came with professional groups, with well-trained people, who in addition were generally given more time on the program, so that the effect was to give the "obvious superiority" of the Eastern countries in cultural events.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now that brings us to this question: I have before me literature which apparently was issued and distributed in this country prior to the Festival. I am looking at Fact Sheet No. 2 of the United States Festival Committee. I quote this:

Similarly, on the political level (which, incidentally is increasingly becoming deemphasized as compared with the cultural), exchange takes the form of seminars on specific problems, larger gatherings on general questions, inter-delegation meetings in which, for example, the American participants may invite the Cuban, French, and Indian delegations to meet in an exchange of ideas. Finally, there is the personal exchange. For those who do not care to attend some or many of the organized events, they may instead choose to sit and talk the day away with newfound friends and acquaintances or have beer klatches as their schedules allow.

Now, that is an indication that this Festival was going to be held on a highly democratic level. To what extent were you permitted to carry out the views expressed in the document I have just read?

Mr. QUINLAN. First of all, the point of view of deemphasis of politics would be considered only as far as, if not a deliberate lie. The theme of politics, as I pointed out earlier, ran through cultural events, seminars, and every possible means of propaganda while at the Festival.

As for personal exchange, this was made extremely difficult due to the fact that the delegations were located at points either quite far outside the city or on ships in the harbor, onto which the delegates

would not be permitted unless they were coming on by personal invitation or with a delegation, so that person-to-person contacts, particularly with Communist countries, were very severely limited.

The interdelegation meetings were generally so highly organized, with the exception of an hour or half hour, that person-to-person contacts were extremely difficult and the greatest part of it would be taken up with official speeches made by people appointed by the chairmen of the delegations, and this applies, as well, to the American delegation.

So that although there was a chance to meet delegates from other countries and carry on a person-to-person discussion, this was a very limited aspect of the Festival due to the arrangements there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The inference from the data which I have read indicates that there would be fair opportunity for delegations to have equal time on the issues involved; that is, equal time between the pro-Communist, the non-Communist, and anti-Communist delegations' speakers before the bodies. Did that, in fact, exist or not?

Mr. QUINLAN. Quite to the contrary, there was no question of equal time. The greatest question was whether the pro-Western delegations would have any representation at all.

One of the main reasons for this was that the speakers were arranged beforehand, often through the delegation chairmen, who were sympathetic toward the orientation of the Festival generally to communism. When people did attempt to present points in favor of the United States or its Western allies, they were either not permitted to speak or, if they were, generally limited to a few minutes.

In addition, people such as the free Hungarian youth, who showed up in force at the Festival, were refused permission to speak at the Festival because they did not have the approval of their government, while at the same time exiles from Spain, who obviously did not have the approval of the Spanish Government, were given positions on the program and given full speeches. There was no question of adequate time given to pro-Western views at any of these seminars.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then would you consider that the programs were loaded against the Western World?

Mr. QUINLAN. With the exception of one free forum which was held on the last day of the Festival and for which signs were published only in English and for which the Soviet press showed up in force, with this one exception, which was a fairly free debate, it was almost entirely limited to a repetition of various "Hate America" themes, "Down with American imperialism," and that the pro-Western and anti-Communist speaker was the exception to the rule.

In addition, when people did speak on this position, they had a great deal of interference from the audience, had much of their time taken up with handclapping, boos, and other interruptions which would break the trend of thought and make it very difficult for them to speak.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the opening and the closing ceremonies were political slogans displayed by various delegations as part of the program?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. At both the opening and closing ceremonies we noticed a number of political slogans. One of them was "No more Hiroshimas." Another one was "Close down all military bases on foreign soil." I have a picture of this in the closing-day parade which

I took myself of the Dutch delegation carrying this sign in English.

At the closing-day parade a number of students attempted to carry signs "No more Soviet tests." These signs were forcibly removed from the parade as told to us by Mr. Hans Litek, an anti-Communist delegate from New York who saw, and took a picture of, Mr. Jean Garcias, a French Communist, who physically removed these signs from the delegates who were carrying them in the parade, so that the so-called nonpolitical signs "No more Hiroshimas," "Close down military bases on foreign soil," were allowed, and "No more Soviet tests" were not allowed in the parade.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I introduce this photograph as an exhibit and we will reproduce it and return the original to you?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. May the photograph be marked Quinlan Exhibit No. 1?

(Document marked "Quinlan Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

QUINLAN EXHIBIT NO. 1



Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any banners permitted calling upon the Soviets to cease atomic testing?

Mr. QUINLAN. No, sir. As I stated before, they were removed from the parades.

Mr. TAVENNER. And not permitted to be returned?

Mr. QUINLAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that apply also as to any banners relating to the Berlin wall?

Mr. QUINLAN. I am not familiar with any banners that were pointed out.

(At this point Mr. Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of the difficulty of non-Communists to adequately express their views at seminars. Now, were the non-Communists prepared to express their views on issues of that kind?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. A number of them had prepared skeleton outlines of speeches that they wanted to make at each of the seminars. They were not permitted to present these speeches or, if they were, it was only by an organized effort on the part of the Americans.

I am referring to a speech by Mr. Barney Frank made at one of the seminars which was arranged only by the cooperation of anti-Communists who represented a majority of the Americans present at the seminar.

Also, Mr. Donald Ingels, who was mentioned earlier, attempted to speak at a seminar on education. He is a teacher, himself. He was not permitted to do so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, is there a distinction to be made between efforts on the part of delegates from the Western Powers to make speeches and an opportunity by delegates to express opposition to questions raised by the pro-Soviet world? I mean by that, was there the same restriction or inability to express views of opposition as to making speeches?

Mr. QUINLAN. The best example I can think of the way this was brought out was in a seminar when a Canadian delegate spoke in a generally anti-Soviet position. After his speech the Chinese Communists were permitted to give a 2-minute rebuttal. Later in the same seminar, when an American girl attempted to give a rebuttal to anti-American propaganda, she was refused the floor and was not permitted to speak at all. So that the privilege of rebuttal was strictly a one-way street in this particular seminar.

(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference to Bernard Frank's inability to answer certain matters, if I understood you correctly.

Mr. QUINLAN. No, this was another American girl who attempted to answer. I am not familiar with her identity. Now that you mentioned it, Mr. Frank, later in the seminar in which he did speak, attempted to get a rebuttal immediately after the Chinese Communists, or a short period afterward; he also was refused this privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Frank denied the privilege of answering because of any loss of control of the forum?

Mr. QUINLAN. At this particular time, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there occasions when control of the forum was lost?

Mr. QUINLAN. Very definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us the results. Tell us how that worked.

Mr. QUINLAN. At one point, in an earlier free forum, there was considerable disagreement expressed and, in order to give the Communist countries a majority again, a call went out to the Soviet and Polish delegates and several busloads of delegates arrived at the forum and



again brought the majority of the forum into the proper Communist bloc. As a result, the forum was quieted down. Later at the free forum held on the last day, when a number of anti-Soviet, pro-American speeches were made, the Soviet delegate threatened to do the same thing again.

(At this point Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. So that when matters seemed to get out of control, the pro-Soviet Festival leadership made efforts to stack the meeting, in plain words?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, in the light of that treatment which you have described, was any position taken by the leadership of the U.S. delegation in the way of objection to that curtailment of freedom of speech?

Mr. QUINLAN. No, sir. The only reaction that I noticed on the part of the American leadership was surprise that Americans wanted to express an anti-Soviet view and that they made no attempt to arrange for a full expression of the anti-Communist, pro-American view which was represented in small part in the delegation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made by the recognized leadership of the U.S. delegation to obtain extra time at seminars and forums for the U.S. delegates?

Mr. QUINLAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, during the committee's inquiry into the Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna, Austria, in 1959, the committee learned that the membership of the International Preparatory Committee for the Seventh World Youth Festival was controlled by members of the Communist Party from different parts of the world.

Did you learn from any public sources of the Communist affiliation of members of the International Preparatory Committee for the Eighth World Youth Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. The public source I am referring to is the *Helsinki Youth News*, which was published in three languages during the period of the Festival. I might note, from our own experience with speeches and other events in the Festival, this paper proved to be reliable, in fact, very close to the original wording of the speeches, but they gave this rundown of the membership of the Preparatory Committee and I will read this to you:

Behind the well-publicized International Preparatory Committee, roughly a score of individuals carry the main burden of running this Festival. Their names are listed below.

These individuals come from a variety of backgrounds. While the majority are members of their national Communist Parties, some come from other political organizations. Two-thirds are from Europe. The great majority have been active in the International Union of Students (IUS), with headquarters in Prague; or in the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), located in Budapest.

*Otto Ingemar Andersson*—Sweden. A Communist journalist and former member of the editorial board of *World Youth*, the journal of WFDY, Andersson has had prior experience in organizing such events. He is a member of the Permanent Commission (PC) of the Helsinki Festival.

*Ritva Arvelo*—Finland. Actor who has traveled widely in the Soviet Union and Communist China. Arvelo is a member of the PC and one of the prime movers of the Finnish Festival Committee.

*Maria Bariona*—Italy. A member of the Nenni Socialist Party at the time of the Vienna Festival. Bariona violated a party request against official Festival

participation by his membership on the Vienna PC. He is again participating in that capacity this year.

*Bedrich Baroch*—Czechoslovakia. A Communist and representative of the Czech Youth Union at the WFDY Secretariat in Budapest, Baroch has been a functionary of the Press and Information Department of the WFDY. He is a member of the PC of the Eighth Festival.

*Maria Thercsa Cabello*—Spain. A member of the PC for the Helsinki Festival, Miss Cobello is a Communist who has been living in recent years in Budapest and working in the WFDY headquarters.

*Jose Bezerra Cavalcante*—Brazil. Chairman of the Student Commission for the Helsinki Festival, Cavalcante is a representative of the National Union of Students of Brazil (UNEB). He has been frequent delegate to IUS functions in recent years.

*Vladislav G. Chevchenko* (sometimes also spelled Shevshenko)—USSR. Long active in Soviet youth affairs, Chevchenko currently is Deputy of Youth Organizations (CYO) of the USSR. Previously he had worked for several years in the WFDY Secretariat and was active in preparations for the Warsaw, Moscow and Vienna Festivals. He is again serving on the PC for the Eighth Festival.

*Lubomir Kirolov Dramaliev*—Bulgaria. A Bulgarian Communist Party member and son of Bulgaria's ambassador to East Germany, the 37-year-old Dramaliev has been a member of the IUS Secretariat since 1957.

*Christian Echard*—France. Long-time member and official of the Communist youth organization of France, Echard became Secretary General of WFDY in August 1957. He participated in the Constitutive Assembly which established the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) for the Vienna Festival and traveled extensively on its behalf. He is a member of the PC.

*Domino Gilberto Elem*—Argentina. Representative of the Argentine National Union of Students (EUA), Elem is a member of the twelve man liaison committee with special emphasis on Latin American participation.

*Jean Garcias*—France. As Secretary General of the Vienna PC, Garcias was probably the most important public figure connected with the Seventh Festival. He is serving in the same position in Helsinki. A 37-year-old French Communist official, he worked at WFDY headquarters for five years prior to being sent to Vienna in April 1958 to take charge of preparations for that Festival.

*Ian Gornicki*—Poland. An old hand in the youth movement, Gornicki's connections date back to 1949 when he was an activist of the "Union of Fighting Youth."

*Thomas Michael Jala*—Canada. A former official of the Communist Youth of Canada, Jala has been active in WFDY and a member of the editorial board of its organ, *World Youth*. He is serving on the PC for the Eighth Festival.

*Victor Kinecki*—Poland. Kinecki has been head of the foreign department of the Polish WFDY affiliate since 1955 and was involved in the Vienna Festival preparations from the outset.

*Boris Ivanovitch Kononov*—U.S.S.R. Representative of the Student Council of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the U.S.S.R. A frequent contributor to the *World Student News*, the magazine of the IUS.

*Gunovidjoje Margono*—Indonesia. One of the Vice Presidents of WFDY, Margono is serving on the PC for the Helsinki Festival. He is also the leader of the Indonesian delegation to the Festival.

*Jiri Pelikan*—Czechoslovakia. Currently President of the IUS, Pelikan has headed that organization since 1953. His experience in youth affairs dates back even further to 1948 when he was President of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students and at the same time was the Communist Party's deputy from Prague in the Czech Parliament.

The CHAIRMAN. How old was this youth you just mentioned?

Mr. QUINLAN. I am not familiar with his age. His experience in youth affairs as president of the Central Union goes back to 1948. I presume he was at least 21 at the time, so this would place him as a fairly old youth. Incidentally, several other people have been mentioned who were 37 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. After reading this list of their years of affiliation, it would seem to me that probably you and the young lady from the United States were the only youths who were there.

Mr. QUINLAN. At times we had that feeling.

**Piero Pieralli**—Italy. An official of the Italian Communist Youth Organization, Pieralli was elected President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. In that capacity he has played a prominent role in every phase of the preparations for the Helsinki Festival.

**Dr. Djayeng Suros**—Indonesia. A leader of the Indonesia Communist youth group, Suros has worked in WFDY headquarters since July 1957. He was a member of the Vienna PC and is serving in the same capacity for the Helsinki Festival.

This particular list of people in the Preparatory Committee was printed twice in the *Helsinki Youth News*. The quotation which I read was from the August 6, 1962, edition.

**Mr. TAVENNER.** I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked Quinlan Exhibit No. 2.

(Document marked "Quinlan Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

**Mr. TAVENNER.** Mr. Quinlan, how did the people of Finland, so far as you can determine, react to the Festival? How did they receive you as a delegate?

**Mr. QUINLAN.** As a delegate, the reaction was almost invariably hostile. This was exhibited from the opening day of the parade to the end of the Festival. It was a known fact in the Festival delegation; as a matter of fact, it was announced that delegates should not go into the center of town late at night. It was a custom among delegates who did go into town to take off any Festival buttons, to remove any identification with the Festival. In addition, speaking with various Finns who recognized me as an anti-Communist, they said that the Finnish people, with the exception of the Communists, were very much opposed to the Festival and to its presence in Helsinki. Some of the ways in which this was shown was the misdirecting of various Festival delegates. One time while I was wearing my Festival buttons I asked for directions to a post office. I ended up walking through the middle of the woods. This was not an isolated example. Several other people were also given the wrong directions. These are some of the ways in which the Finns expressed their opposition to the Festival and its members.

**Mr. TAVENNER.** What was the type of coverage given the Festival by the Finnish press?

**Mr. QUINLAN.** With the exception of the Communist newspaper *Kansan Uutiset*, with the exception of this newspaper, it was complete silence on the part of the press. Beforehand there was expressed opposition on the part of the press, including a survey of the Finnish people. During the Festival itself there was almost a complete blackout—so much so that the International Press Committee attempted to buy an advertisement in a number of papers to advertise and bring out the schedule of events in the Festival.

**Mr. TAVENNER.** You mean they could not get coverage of news items concerning the Festival in the non-Communist press without taking ads to do it?

**Mr. QUINLAN.** That is right.

**Mr. TAVENNER.** Now the one paper that you mentioned, did you mean to say that that was a Communist newspaper?

**Mr. QUINLAN.** Yes, sir. That was the organ of the Finnish Communist Party.

**Mr. TAVENNER.** As the Festival progressed, did the delegates receive literature of any type prepared for their use?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir, they did. In the American delegation a literature table was put out on which supposedly anyone could put literature that they wanted to distribute to the Festival delegates. I have a few examples of the literature that the American delegation distributed at the Festival. It included *New Horizons for Youth*, a number of issues of *PYOC* (Progressive Youth Organizing Committee) *Newsletter*, *Young Socialist*, and *Progressive Labor*. Pamphlets of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, the Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, and the Committee To Aid the Monroe Defendants. In addition, two pamphlets, *The Rape of the First Amendment* and *Job Problems of Youth*.

An example of this is an issue of *New Horizons for Youth* in the summer of 1962, which displays a picture series on the slums of New York. This was the presentation that *New Horizons for Youth* was giving of America at the Festival. There was an attempt to put anti-Communist literature onto the pamphlet table. However, we noticed that this literature disappeared in ratios which suggested it was being picked up and removed from the table, not by individual delegates, but on orders of the troika to keep it from the delegates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you let me see those documents for a moment?

One of the documents which you mentioned was *New Horizons for Youth*. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show that the committee's investigation shows that this is published by the Youth Commission of the Communist Party.

You mentioned that the efforts made to put non-Communist literature on this table appeared not to be successful. Do you know the reason for that? Do you know how the documents disappeared from the table?

Mr. QUINLAN. I did not see them removed. However, we had several cases in which they disappeared shortly after being placed on the table.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now is there anything else you desire to state which you think would be of interest and of help to the committee?

Mr. QUINLAN. I would like to state that the Americans who attended the Helsinki Youth Festival were not a representative group, by any means, of political opinion in the United States. The anti-Communist group was very much outnumbered.

To give an example of the impression that these people made on the Festival as a whole, there was one incident which occurred when a stink bomb was thrown into the Swiss anti-Festival exhibit. One of the Swiss was heard to remark, "You would think the entire American delegation walked through here in their bare feet."

All during the Festival the Americans were laughed at, because they were largely of the beatnik type.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that true only of the American delegation?

Mr. QUINLAN. With the possible exception of the Communists, that would be true only of the Americans. As a rule, the delegates were fairly well dressed and the Americans showed a striking contrast to the rest of the delegates in the Festival.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who paid the expenses of the delegates?

Mr. QUINLAN. I am not aware of any means of payment. However, there is some question as to one girl, who was conversing with Joan Lawton, I believe, and the question came up as to how she came to the

Festival, and it appeared that the girl had saved money from a New York State scholarship to pay her way to the Festival. This was the same girl who expressed her desire to live in Cuba because she didn't like the conditions in the United States.

Mr. BRUCE. From what scholarship?

Mr. QUINLAN. New York State. I believe Miss Eccles has a further explanation of this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an opportunity to tour the Soviet Union after the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir, I did. Leaving a day late we toured from Leningrad to Moscow and exited through Czechoslovakia.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain whether I gave you a full opportunity to express any other point that you desired to raise.

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given freedom in travel?

Mr. QUINLAN. In travel, no. However, once we were in the cities we were generally allowed to move about. However, both of the hotels we stayed at were quite removed from the city so that it involved considerable difficulty for any Americans who wanted to travel on their own. Also it meant an additional expense due to the fact that the meals were at the hotel and the Americans would have to buy their own meals in the Soviet restaurants. As a result, travel was somewhat limited. It was further limited by frequent meetings which were called, often accomplishing nothing. This was especially irritating in Moscow when the visas for exiting from the Soviet Union were not made available to the delegates until the day that the people left who exited through Poland and the day before departure to the people who exited through Czechoslovakia. These meetings were called at various times throughout the day and everyone had to attend. This, of course, curtailed any travel through the cities that would require any time. Although we were given technical freedom of travel, it was greatly restricted by the problems of location, of expense for our meals, and of meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an opportunity to meet with and discuss matters with citizens of the Soviet Union?

Mr. QUINLAN. We had one or two occasions in which we had discussions with people in the Soviet Union but, by and large, it was extremely difficult due to language difficulties and the problem of just meeting them. The people that we did meet as part of the tour were members of the Komsomol, the Young Communist League, and did not give a representative feeling of the Soviet Union, at least as I believe the Soviet people would be.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any impressions of the Soviet Union you would like to discuss?

Mr. QUINLAN. Perhaps not my own impressions, but the impressions of the delegates who went there from the Festival would be more interesting. When we crossed the Finnish border, a round of cheering went through the train that we were now in the motherland of the Socialists, so to speak. But during the course of our tour through the Soviet Union quite a number of the delegates became disillusioned with the Soviet Union, with the backwardness of the country, with the poverty, the inefficiency of the bureaucratic measures there, and the Soviet Union in general. Others, however, refused to see anything but the good that was present in the Soviet Union and would close

their eyes to anything that would reflect poorly on the Soviets, such as the nets to catch the falling bricks which one person insisted did not exist and yet I have a picture of them, taken with my camera from the bus which was made available to us.

I would also like to add that throughout the Soviet Union the Festival participants were given special treatment. In particular, we noticed that wherever we went there were a number of banners "Welcome to the delegates to the Eighth Youth Festival." A reception was given to us at Vyborg, a border town of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that we were a day late coming in from the Festival, the reception was held in the town. During our period of stay in the Soviet Union, we had meetings with the Young Communist League, arranged for us by the people in charge of the tour. The meetings could be characterized as little more than indoctrination.

The meeting held in Leningrad was not as bad as the one held in Moscow. In Moscow the program lasted for an hour and a half or 2 hours, and except for one or two speakers who spoke in English the entire program was in Russian or a language foreign to English. The American delegates, who were the guests, had to sit through hours of speeches, not knowing what was being said and having no one but themselves to speak to. My overall impression was that we were being put on parade for the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how many delegates there were to the Festival from the United States?

Mr. QUINLAN. Approximately 440.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have a list of the names of the delegates from the United States?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir. I happen to have a copy of a list which I believe I referred to earlier as a list of all participants, their room numbers, their bed numbers, and whether or not they paid for an extra night's stay in Helsinki. This was the only list which was available to the Festival participants.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you permit the staff of the committee to make use of that?

Mr. QUINLAN. Pardon me. I said to the Festival participants—I meant to the Festival leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. We will return it to you.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions from members of the committee?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have two questions I would like to ask. Was there any indication that any delegates from the United States questioned the self-appointed authority for those in command to speak for them?

Mr. QUINLAN. To my knowledge there wasn't any.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. They were accepted?

Mr. QUINLAN. It would be impossible to work with the International Preparatory Committee, which was in charge of such things as tickets for seminars, and so on. So an obstacle was set up to do anything but comply with the leadership.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I noticed one of the pamphlets, *The Rape of the First Amendment*.

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Was that on the literature table at the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. On what basis do you think that would be of any interest to the rest of the delegates from other countries?

Mr. QUINLAN. This was on the literature table for the American group. It was made available to Americans.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Was there literature from other countries on the American section or table?

Mr. QUINLAN. No, there was none.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have one question.

You said there were some 400 American delegates?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have had to be in and out of this hearing, and you may have covered this point, but have you any idea as to what proportion of that total number was unsympathetic to the Communist philosophy or program?

Mr. QUINLAN. My own estimate, which several people who attended the Festival have agreed with, is that approximately one fifth was anti-Communist; perhaps another two fifths a leftist, pacifist group; and the other two fifths being very much in sympathy with the line of anti-Americanism which was given out at the Festival.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were there a considerable number of older "young" people among the American group?

Mr. QUINLAN. There were a number of people who brought their children along who were considerably older. However, the Americans in general were the younger type, under 25, under 30, in contrast with the other delegations which contained people that I believe would be 45 or 50 years old.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Possibly you have testified to this; if you have, don't repeat it, but what knowledge do you have as to the methods of recruiting these 400-some delegates from the United States?

What procedures were used within the United States?

Mr. QUINLAN. One of the methods of recruiting was recruiting tours made by Mr. Myerson. He would speak at several campuses, giving information on the Festival or, as in the case of the University of Wisconsin, debating about the Festival. Other methods would be in advertisements or free publicity given to various parties. I am thinking now of the *National Guardian*, which gave publicity to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

You have made a fine contribution in bringing to the people an awakening that there is such a thing, a real menace, as this international conspiracy. We are indebted to you. Thank you very much.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles, will you come forward, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss ECCLES. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF ANN S. ECCLES

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Miss ECCLES. My name is Ann Eccles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Miss Eccles?

Miss ECCLES. At 590 East 21st Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mind stating your age?

Miss ECCLES. Twenty-five.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what your educational background is?

Miss ECCLES. I have had a high school education and 1 year of business school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now employed?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. I am employed, I am in business.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles, prior to your attending the Eighth World Youth Festival, did you make known to this committee your intention to attend and your willingness to come before the committee and make a report of your observations?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What procedures did you follow in order to be accepted as a delegate to the Eighth World Youth Festival?

Miss ECCLES. I sent an application blank in with the check for \$60. I was told that too many people had applied and that I was one of the overflow, that the committee would have to send to Helsinki, to the IPC, to see if more delegates could attend the Festival. I called directly to the office to find out if I would be allowed to go. On one of these occasions I was asked to come up and work for the committee. I did. I did some typing. I also called people and solicited funds. Only after I had worked for the committee about four times, was I finally told I could go to the Festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now while you worked in the headquarters of the United States Festival Committee office in New York, did you have occasion to observe the method that was used in screening or whether applicants were screened before being accepted as delegates?

Miss ECCLES. From what I could see, they were screened. I had some personal experience where two of my friends—one sent his application in a week earlier, that was Mr. Donald Devine, he was not accepted. Another friend, Tom O'Connor, also of New York, sent his application in the same day I did. He was also refused. After I had done all this work for the committee, Mr. Berkowitz finally pulled my application out of a pile that he was working on and said I could go. That was the screening. Evidently it was done by him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now after you arrived at the Festival in Helsinki, to what extent did the leadership of the United States Festival Committee maintain contact with the delegates?

Miss ECCLES. They published a memorandum on the first day of the Festival. It was a list of instructions to the delegates. The rest of the contact was either at the desk, in the form of checking your identification, or announcements made through loud speakers.

Mr. TAVENNER. From what we have already heard, numerous decisions were required to be made as to what seminars the delegates would attend and what meetings. Who made those decisions?

Miss ECCLES. The American Festival committee people, Mr. Tigar, Mr. Prosten.

Mr. TAVENNER. The delegates themselves did not make the decision but the same leadership, about which we have heard a great deal, made the decisions?

Miss ECCLES. These people said that they were not officially allowed to make a decision for us but they did.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to have your own impressions of what you consider to have been the orientation of the Festival, as a whole,



in its seminars and its lectures with reference to matters that would affect the United States.

Miss ECCLES. It was definitely anti-American. The theme of every seminar was "Hate America." As Mr. Quinlan said, the cultural activities were all against America, pictures of the Hiroshima bombing, the puppet shows that were given were against America. There was a farce on religion, things of this nature.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the entire Festival apparently had as its purpose the discrediting of the United States and what the United States stands for, to all of the young people who were there, Americans and others.

Miss ECCLES. It was my belief that this was the purpose of the Festival. When I say "Hate America," America was the prime target. Also in line were Great Britain, Canada, Holland, and the Western countries.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What specifically were the areas of attack on America? What was it aside from Hiroshima and from religion? Were there other matters relating to capitalism, imperialism, or our foreign policy?

Miss ECCLES. Capitalism, American imperialism, the exploitation of the colored people in the country. The poverty in the South especially was brought out. But mostly it was American imperialism. That covered a wide range.

Mr. BRUCE. Might I ask here, Was there very much emphasis on this question of coexistence?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, but the Americans were the ones blocking peaceful desires while the Russians—I heard more than one speech—Russians were only for peaceful purposes—to assure future world peace.

Mr. BRUCE. There was a constant stress of the Soviet viewpoint of the need for coexistence?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, but the blame was put on us, they stressed coexistence from their side only.

Mr. BRUCE. Coexistence with the United States surrendering?

Miss ECCLES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a seminar on the subject of democratization?

Miss ECCLES. No, I did not. But a Mr. Ingels, who was part of the anti-Communist group, did. He told me about his experience at this seminar. First of all, the chairman of the seminar limited the speeches of the delegates to 10 minutes to allow for a question-and-answer period after each speech. Mr. Ingels had prepared a speech which would take about an hour. He reluctantly gave up his time and spoke for 15 minutes. Then a Russian got up and spoke for an hour and 15 minutes, without being interrupted by the chairman. A Hungarian spoke for about 35 or 40 minutes. There was no question-and-answer period. Also, during the seminar, Mr. Ingels heard a speech by a North Korean who, among other things, stated that during the Korean war the American soldiers used Korean babies as cannon fodder.

Incidentally, this sort of thing went on all the time; the insults we heard about America were unbelievable. Mr. Ingels stood up, even though he was shouted down, and could not control himself and said, "That is a lie." The rest of the Americans who were there immediately acted embarrassed and shunned him, and the Korean delegate de-

manded an instant apology. He came around with 20 of his people and stated that his delegation had been insulted. Mr. Ingels finally did apologize for insulting the delegation, but he did not retract the statement that it was a lie. I doubt, though, that this was noted—the propaganda impact of the American apologizing seemed to be sufficient.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can get a clearer picture. Before that seminar met was there any understanding as to the division of time?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. Rules were laid down by the chairman of the seminar, who stated that the speeches would be limited to 10 minutes so as to allow for a question-and-answer period after the speech.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the way in which the meeting was handled, the delegates from the pro-Soviet countries took all the time by the long speeches, an hour and something in the one case and 35 or 40 minutes in the case of another?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any time left for questions and answers at all?

Miss ECCLES. No, there were no questions. They were not allowed to ask questions. The chairman said the time had run out. This happened at many seminars we attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have observed from literature put out in this country prior to the Festival in the form of a fact sheet questionnaire on post-Festival tours the following:

The United States Festival Committee intends to use all its influence to guarantee the fullest discussion possible and to permit the freest expression of point of view. However, we view the "exchange of ideas" in much the same way as put forth by Alexander Meiklejohn. That is to say, while all points of view enrich discussion, they must be relevant to the subject at hand. It is decidedly not relevant nor appropriate to raise questions of nationalization of industry, armed aggression, or capital punishment, for example, at a meeting of theatre techniques.

In the light of that statement, I would like to know to what extent you feel that the spirit of that statement was carried out. What was your experience?

Miss ECCLES. I did attend a forum on cinematography and I heard a delegate from Senegal get up and start his speech on the movie industry, stating that there is no movie industry in Senegal, and then launch an attack against American imperialism. This was ruled as acceptable from the chair. It was pertinent as far as he was concerned.

Incidentally, the delegate from Senegal was later heard at another forum to give the same speech without the opening sentence about the movie industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any effort made by the head of the U.S. delegation to bring the seminar to account for the violation of this rule which they had advertised?

Miss ECCLES. None that I was aware of.

(At this point Mr. Schadeberg left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What freedom did the delegates from the United States have in obtaining recognition from the chair at the forums?

Miss ECCLES. On the whole we were not allowed to speak. By "we," I mean the anti-Communist portion of the American delegation. We were either refused recognition because there was no time or because we had not submitted the proper paper to the rostrum. Many times

I know Mr. Ingels submitted papers to speak the day before. He was always refused. I know, too, that the right to speak at these meetings was granted by the heads of the delegations. In other words, they were riding herd on who spoke. If you were known to have a proper Communist viewpoint you could speak; if you were an anti-Communist you could not. They would find some way not to let you speak at all either from the floor in reviewing someone's point, or from the rostrum on a particular topic.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have experience at any other forum or seminar meetings, other than the one dealing with the subject of cinematography, which would indicate this was a set plan?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. I went to a peace forum where we heard 2½ days of anti-American speeches. Finally, we heard a delegate from Great Britain stand up and state that he wanted his 10 minutes to review the attacks on America and Great Britain. We were only able to get him to the rostrum because there were a lot of English-speaking people there who yelled, "Let him speak."

While he was speaking, he mentioned that he had submitted a petition to speak at least one day before other members of the delegation who had definite "leftist" views had submitted theirs. They were approved as speakers, and he was not.

(At this point Mr. Bruce left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you would say there was a concerted effort to prevent anti-Communists from expressing opposition to pro-Communist views at the Festival?

Miss ECCLES. Definitely. I did attend another seminar or forum on the problems of women. The theme of the seminar was the same, anti-American, except they were women speakers. Finally an American girl got up and spoke about her life in the United States as a student and a young workingwoman. She was told that she was not pertinent to the topic, that they did not want her to put on her own personal history, and she was made to publicly apologize in front of the rest of the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any criticism on the part of delegates to the Festival in the nature of charges that a delegate was not properly representing his own country?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, there were many. The University Federation of Student Societies, which is a national Mexican student organization, refused publicly to have anything to do with the Festival. The official of the Mexican Festival delegation claimed their wholehearted support nevertheless. The Colombian delegation was the same. The Colombian Government did not recognize the Colombian delegation. The delegation from Panama had three men—two live in Cuba, one lives in Russia. The Ghanans were really Nigerian. This was quoted in the *Helsinki Youth News*. There were many fraudulent delegates at the Festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. That indicates that the delegations themselves were rigged?

Miss ECCLES. Yes, they were.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the situation with regard to the Hungarian delegation?

Miss ECCLES. The Hungarian delegation—I speak now of one Hungarian who I saw on the floor of the seminar. He was a representative of 6,000 Hungarian students studying in free Europe. He had

written to the Festival asking for credentials. He was refused. The International Preparatory Committee did not recognize him as an official member even though he claimed the support of that many people.

MR. TAVENNER. Did they state any reason for refusing to recognize him as a delegate?

MISS ECCLES. No, they did not. They said he was a Fascist. They said that about everybody who didn't agree with them.

MR. TAVENNER. Were exiles from Spain and Hungary received as delegates?

MISS ECCLES. Well, the exiles—I was at a seminar where the exile from Spain was allowed to speak even though there was some question whether or not he was an authentic delegate. He was allowed to speak at a seminar.

Incidentally, no pictures were allowed to be taken of this man by any members of the press. That seemed a one-way street. The Hungarian representing free Hungary was not recognized while the Spanish Communist was, even though he was not living in Spain.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you agree that Myerson, Tigar, and Berkowitz were the three main leaders of the U.S. delegation?

MISS ECCLES. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Did they make any protest in behalf of the U.S. delegation for the treatment that the United States received in these various seminars?

MISS ECCLES. No, to my knowledge, they did not.

MR. JOHANSEN. Did they at any time defend the anti-Communist members of the American delegation when they were under fire?

MISS ECCLES. No, they did not, not at all.

MR. TAVENNER. We heard from Mr. Quinlan of the instance in which literature was placed at the disposal of members of the U.S. delegation. Did you observe that literature?

MISS ECCLES. Yes, I did. There were literature tables in the American delegation headquarters. The anti-Communist literature which was placed on the table was always removed.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you observe any effort on the part of members of other delegations to place literature in the hands of the members of the U.S. delegation?

MISS ECCLES. Each delegation had its own literature. I have some samples here of German, Arabian, and French magazines that were published for the Festival. This is an Arabian one. It has a story by Linus Pauling in it. This one is also Arabian. It shows a cartoon of President Kennedy, one side of his suit is a soldier's uniform, the other side is his presidential business uniform. This is the cinematography book that was put out. It depicts the birth of the Cuban cinema; and then the New York school, picturing a colored Bowery bum lying on the street as depicting typical American cinematography. The rest are just about the same.

MR. TAVENNER. What use was made of that type of literature?

MISS ECCLES. To the other delegates who did not know very much about the United States, this attempted to show them part of our life here, and it was a seamy life.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is this a Communist publication that contained the contribution of Linus Pauling?

Miss ECCLES. This magazine was published in three different languages. I believe it was one of the official organs of the Festival. However, I have only the Arabian book here. I recognize Mr. Pauling.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has it been translated?

Miss ECCLES. No, it has not been.

Mr. TAVENNER. What form of protest, if any, was utilized by members of other delegations, delegations other than the one from the United States, to the general treatment that delegates from the Western World received at the Festival?

Miss ECCLES. Several of them walked out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Several?

Miss ECCLES. Several delegations walked out saying that they realized they had been used just for propaganda purposes. The Ceylonese left on August 4. A Nigerian student got up and stated that the seminars were not free, that they had no free exchange of ideas. Also talking to the delegates you met in the street—I spoke to an Indian delegate who said that any intelligent man knew that the seminars were rigged. I spoke to some East Berliners who said the same thing. They were terribly disappointed in the way the Festival was carried out, that it was not a free exchange of ideas at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tavenner, do you have many more questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a roll call that we have to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I may ask one more question, I believe we can excuse her.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. TAVENNER. You probably heard me ask the question of Mr. Quinlan regarding a person by the name of Paul Rosenstein.

Miss ECCLES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with him in Helsinki?

Miss ECCLES. I did. He was there, he was in charge of the admission desk on many occasions. He also seemed to work very closely with Tigar, Berkowitz, and Prosten.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the members of the staff would like to confer further with the witnesses, but I do not think it will be necessary to call the committee back.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I must apologize. The bells indicate that there is an automatic rollcall, and we have to go. But I want to thank you very much. I hope that the testimony you and the preceding witness gave will be examined not only by other students but by members of faculties who are so prone to be critical when somebody makes an attempt to expose efforts being made to destroy this Republic. The American Association of University Professors at nearly every annual convention they hold adopt a resolution criticizing some university for discharging a person who ought not to be teaching in the school. It seems to me that this is the group which ought to be educated to the fact that the Communist drive is centered in youth movements all over the world.

I thank you very much for your contribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to thank you, too.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., Thursday, October 4, 1962, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1962

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>—STAFF INTERROGATION

## TESTIMONY OF DONALD QUINLAN AND ANN S. ECCLES—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles and Mr. Quinlan, the chairman has authorized the staff to continue with the interrogation.

During the course of your testimony this morning, Mr. Quinlan, you briefly touched upon the parade which opened the Eighth World Youth Festival. Did the American delegation carry any political slogans as they marched in this parade?

Mr. QUINLAN. I know of no political slogans that were carried. However, I might add that the songs which were appointed by the United States Festival Committee representatives during the parade included many pacifist type songs such as "We Ain't Going To Study War No More," "We Shall Not Be Moved." It was originally mentioned that we would sing "America the Beautiful." However, when this came during the parade and someone attempted to start it, it was drowned out. Well, first, the Communist members of the committee did not sing it. Secondly, it was then drowned out by another song which I believe was "We Shall Not Be Moved" at the time. So that, although there were no political slogans that were carried, there were political songs sung.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the American delegation moving into the parade support by slogans and other expressions the political advocacies of the Communist countries?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, they did—during the parade especially. As the Cuban delegation entered, the Americans joined the chant "Cuba si, Yankee no." At another point in the parade, they were very prominent in cheering the Communist countries as they entered.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the American delegates wear a button or insignia which was peculiar to the American delegation?

Miss ECCLES. An official American insignia was a little round gold pin. It was a cross between a dove of peace and the American eagle. These were the lapel pins worn by the Americans.

Mr. TAVENNER. What does a dove of peace and the American eagle look like when put together?

Miss ECCLES. A "peagle."

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of delegate buttons was borne by other delegations?

Mr. QUINLAN. There were a number of interesting buttons. The Cuban delegation had a button that carried a peace dove with a sub-machine gun in its claws. The button read, "Patria O Muerte Vencemos," We shall overcome. Other buttons were the Lenin pin of the Soviet Union, the Brandenburg Gate pin of the East German regime, the pin of Lenin as a baby distributed by the Soviet Union delegates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not for the purpose of interrupting you, Mr. Quinlan, but under the authority previously given by the chairman, I shall ask that the photographic reproduction of the Cuban delegation button be made a part of the record.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Mr. QUINLAN. This picture was published in the *Helsinki Youth News* of July 31, 1962. In addition, the American delegates also passed out buttons reading "Peace or Piece," "Work for Peace," or "Wait for War," and a button from the California group sold by the California group carrying a peace dove and "Eighth World Youth Festival." (Document marked "Quinlan Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

## QUINLAN EXHIBIT No. 3



The official pin worn by members of the Cuban delegation mixes symbols of peace and war with a dove carrying a sub-machine gun.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your testimony this morning, Miss Eccles, reference was made to the fact that a Hungarian youth, living in exile in Europe and representing some 6,000 exiled youths of Hungary, attempted to get the floor, but permission was not given to him either to take the floor or to admit him to the Festival as a delegate. Was he, through the efforts of any of the American delegates, able to obtain the floor at any forum or seminar?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. At the Free Tribune meeting an anti-Communist American delegate, Mr. Oliver Davidson, managed to shout and receive the floor, whereupon he immediately turned the floor over to the Hungarian. As the Hungarian started to speak, cries of "Fascist" rang through the hall. He denied being a Fascist. He was not allowed to continue because he was not an officially recognized delegate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reference has been made to a Puerto Rican that obtained the floor for the purpose of attacking views which were favorable to Puerto Rico and its relationship to the United States. Was it at this same forum, where the Hungarian was denied free speech, that this Puerto Rican was given the floor to attack a friendly Western position?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. While I was not at this forum, I know it happened from reports by other American delegates and from a story which appeared in the *Helsinki Youth News* of August 3. His attack went like this:

"How can there be free choice when Puerto Rico is occupied by the CIA and the FBI and professors and students are being tortured and imprisoned?"

After some North Americans laughed at this allegation, the Puerto Rican launched a bitter attack:

"You stupid fascists may laugh. But Cuba and all Latin America will come to our help and demolish your Strategic Air Command bases. You can all laugh with your Kennedy and his lackey Munoz Marin because we will soon bury you all. You can laugh because I don't give any of you more than 20 years of life. Cuba and Latin America will come to our defense and take care of you."

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the previous authority the issue of *Helsinki Youth News* of August 3, 1962, will be marked as an exhibit and made a part of this record.

(Document marked "Eccles Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles, this morning you were talking about and discussing the type of anti-American, antifree-world propaganda that was being printed and distributed by either Communist-controlled countries or by Communist youth from delegations of the West. Have you compiled a breakdown of the publications?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. I have a suitcase full of Communist literature collected at the Eighth World Youth Festival. This collection contains only a small portion of the total Communist propaganda distributed at the Festival. In English, booklets, pamphlets, and newspapers from East Germany, 11; U.S.S.R., 8; Cuba, 3; England, 3; Rumania, 2; Czechoslovakia, 2. Also from Hungary, Albania, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Jordan, and Japan. Also in English, numerous official Festival publications, and material printed by the International Union of Students. The IUS publications included reports of congresses and conferences in Cuba, Rumania, Tunisia, Iraq, Czechoslovakia, and Indonesia; pamphlets about Korea, Germany, Japan, Martinique,



Algeria, and Africa; five pamphlets on peace activities and general information; magazines, *World Student News*, *Young Film* and *IUS News Service*. We have several issues of each.

In addition to material in English, hundreds of Communist publications in many languages were distributed at the Festival. This collection contains a few examples only, in German, French, Spanish, and Arabic.

This publication which I hold is an East German magazine. As you can see its heading is "Cuba si, Yankee no."

MR. TAVENNER. Is this publication to which you referred in English or in German?

MISS ECCLES. This is in German.

MR. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles, I am wondering if you would go through the literature that you have and make a listing of the titles of the publications and where each is published and forward it to the committee so that we might make it a part of this record.

MISS ECCLES. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Thank you.

MISS ECCLES. This is a magazine, a Spanish magazine. It shows pictures of the American soldiers in Asia. The last one I would like to read. This is a *News Service*, special edition No. 12-13. This was put out by the IUS people and it was a statement of the International Student Solidarity Meeting on West Irian. I would like to just read a portion of one resolution that was passed relating to Puerto Rico. This is taken from the report of the executive committee of the International Union of Students meeting in Djakarta from May 18 to 23:

*considering*

- that since July 25th, 1898, the Puerto Rican nation has been subjected to illegal military occupation by the US imperialists who established in this Spanish-speaking country an all-English educational system with the purpose of eliminating the mother tongue and imposing the conqueror's language upon the Puerto Rican population;
- that in addition the US imperialists engaged in an all-out campaign of Americanisation of the Puerto Rican people, forcing the students to pledge daily allegiance to the flag and the constitution of the United States while ruthlessly persecuting and imprisoning any Puerto Rican who sang the Puerto Rican National Anthem or displayed the national flag;
- that in 1917, in order to impose obligatory military service and draft in the US army thousands [sic] of Puerto Ricans, the US imperialists, who were already at war, imposed US citizenship upon the Puerto Rican people by unilateral law of the US Congress \* \* \*.

While on the subject of Puerto Rico, I would like to point out two things: First of all, whenever an American did gain the floor to make a speech at the seminars, the program chairman immediately put a Puerto Rican up after him who apologized to the membership for his fellow American's speech and then bitterly denounced the military beast in Puerto Rico and said that the Puerto Ricans would never again fight in another war for the United States or said that Puerto Ricans were being expropriated from Puerto Rico to New York.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, was your observation with respect to the Puerto Rican delegate's attack on the United States in accord with Miss Eccles?

MR. QUINLAN. Yes. As a matter of fact, I heard what she just said almost word for word at two different seminars. It appeared

that this one speech had been prepared and was repeated whenever this particular Puerto Rican delegate appeared at the seminars.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Puerto Rican delegate ever identified?

Mr. QUINLAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know in fact that he is from Puerto Rico?

Mr. QUINLAN. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. As has been testified in the case of the Latin American delegates who were not residents of Latin America, is it possible that the Puerto Rican might not have been a Puerto Rican at all but used by the Communists to represent a Puerto Rican view?

Mr. QUINLAN. That is quite possible that he was put in as a false delegate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, was any physical retaliation taken against anti-Communists or non-Communists who were attempting to influence the delegations—attempting to bring democracy to their attention?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, the incident that was corroborated several times was that of a Swiss student, who was taking part in the Swiss exhibit on the positive side of democracy in Switzerland, who, when passing out invitations for delegates to attend this exhibit, was taken by three members of the Finnish Festival guards and taken off into a room, physically dragged off into this room; and when people outside became curious and asked why this had been done, they were satisfied with the reply, "Fascist."

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other incidents brought to your attention during the Festival similar to the treatment given to the Swiss delegate?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes. I believe that there was a Finnish anti-Communist who was taken and dragged behind a car. However, he escaped when the rope broke after he had been dragged for a short time and managed to survive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Present at the Festival, Mr. Quinlan, were many delegations from behind the Iron Curtain. Did there come to your attention either successful or frustrated attempts at defection from these delegations?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, there were reports that at least 6 and possibly as many as 40 East Germans had defected to the West by going to Stockholm and seeking political asylum in the West German Embassy in Stockholm. In addition, there is a question about what happened to a certain East German ship which did not appear in Helsinki; it was carrying half of the East German delegation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any attempted defections from the East German delegations discovered and frustrated?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes. There were reports that one East German attempted to escape. However, when she was about to enter transportation to Sweden, she was discovered by the East German guards and physically removed from the car and taken back to the East German ship.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles, this morning you talked about the withdrawal of delegations in protest against the pro-Soviet theme of the Festival. You mentioned the Ceylonese delegation. Did the Ceylonese delegation issue a formal statement as to its reasons for withdrawal?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. They withdrew on August 4. They issued this statement:

"Under protest we withdraw our delegates from Festival as only the Communist leadership has been recognised."

\* \* \* \* \*  
 "The Communists appeared as the spokesmen of Ceylon, and in many contexts they attacked and slandered their own government" \* \* \*.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the committee's investigation, it was reported that a Nigerian delegate who had been educated at the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow had obtained the floor and made an attack upon the pro-Communist theme of the Festival. Are you familiar with his attack upon the Festival?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. His remarks were quoted in the *Helsinki Youth News* of August 3. Mr. Okonkwo Theophilus spoke out against the one-sidedness that dominated the Eighth World Youth Festival. This is what he said:

"The youth of the world cannot take sides. There must be free expression of all points of view if these youths are to play a constructive role in solving the great problems of peace and national independence" \* \* \*.

This delegate named Okonkwo Theophilus had tried to speak at the Colloquium on Peace and National Independence but was refused the floor. When he had arisen and asked to speak to the audience and give a prepared speech, he was gavelled down by the chairman. He then gave a press conference and gave his speech to the press conference. He denounced Festival speakers who insisted on attacking the West on South Africa, Suez, and Angola and did not say a word about Soviet imperialism in Hungary or the murderous record of Stalin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, you were asked by Congressman Johansen this morning as to the political makeup of the American delegates. I think that you described one fifth as anti-Communist, two fifths as non-Communist middle-of-the-roaders, and two fifths as being Communists and pro-Communists.

How effective were these two fifths that you placed in the non-Communist, middle-of-the-road category when it came to standing up and speaking out as American citizens?

Mr. QUINLAN. This includes not only members of that middle-of-the-road group, but some of the people whose opinions are anti-Communist as well. We found that their position was one of apology rather than defending the United States, saying that they were sorry for what had happened rather than explaining that the condition is not the serious thing that it has been mistaken for.

Several times we received comments from a number of these people, when we did attempt to make a point on behalf of the United States, that we were obstructionists and we were gaining enemies because we were presenting too strong a pro-American view.

On the other hand, they did not take initiative in attacking the Communist weakness. Their position seemed to be one of ignoring these as an important source of speaking, and instead they concentrated on apologizing for the United States. We found that this position was very ineffective and that it made a very unfavorable impression on the rest of the noncommitted delegates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say that the anti-Communists were well enough informed on the evils of communism, or was their refusal to speak up something that resulted from ignorance of what communism is and how democracy is a far better system of government?

Mr. QUINLAN. Unfortunately that is true. In many of the cases these people would best be classed as Socialists or people who advocated a change in the form of capitalism in the United States. However, I might mention that this is not a universal case of ignorance. I believe that those who volunteered to help the House committee and the other delegates falling in the anti-Communist one fifth demonstrated their knowledge and their ability to combat communism and to take the offensive and to push back the Communists on their own weak points and to assert the positive aspects of the United States rather than to apologize.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say that the well-organized plans of the Communists for the seminars and forums were disrupted by just the small handful of informed anti-Communists?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes. An example I can think of is Mr. Oliver Davidson. In the course of one seminar, which lasted for 3 days, he first attempted to give the Hungarian the floor. Secondly, when the Spanish exile spoke he protested the right of the Spanish exile to speak on the grounds that he was in a similar position as the Hungarian exile, namely, that neither of them had the approval of their government. And it was actions such as these, action by an American girl who attempted to take the microphone for a rebuttal, that did succeed in disrupting the pattern of organization of the seminars and to point out how these were controlled by the Communist management of the Festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Quinlan, in your testimony this morning you talked about, as did Miss Eccles, the success which the Communist countries had in their cultural presentations through the professional type entertainment they presented, as compared to the amateurish cultural presentation put on by the U.S. delegation.

Did the delegates discuss this? And what was their position in this matter?

Mr. QUINLAN. They discussed this at a news conference held toward the end of the Festival. When the question was put as to whether they wanted government support, they said, "Yes, so that we could bring over better entertainers and people who would better represent the culture of the United States." However, in a following question, when they were asked if they would take along with government support the representation of pro-American views, they immediately backed down and they stated they wanted only support and they did not want to represent a pro-American viewpoint.

On this question of cultural presentations, I might note that there was a highly skilled chorus from Yale University, the Yale Russian Chorus, who offered themselves to the Festival Committee to sing on behalf of the American cultural presentations. They were refused permission to do so on the grounds that the United States Festival Committee could not pay for their entrance into the Festival. This is in spite of the fact that most members of the chorus were delegates to the Festival and the United States Festival Committee would not have had to spend any money to have them perform because the entire chorus was in Helsinki at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you refer to "they" making statements at the press conference, to whom are you referring?

Mr. QUINLAN. Again to the troika, Mr. Myerson, Mr. Prosten, and Tigar.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles and Mr. Quinlan, what type of cultural presentation did the American delegation produce in Helsinki?

Miss ECCLES. There was a four-man jazz group headed by Perry Robinson and Archie Shepp, who played very progressive jazz. One of the pieces they played was an ode to Jomo Kenyatta, which was written by Perry Robinson.

Mr. QUINLAN. There was another piece played as a tribute to Patrice Lumumba, which was a composition which lasted for 35 or 40 minutes.

Miss ECCLES. We also had a chorus that was supposed to be composed of the delegates themselves. On the first day of the Festival, we were up against the Bulgarian mixed chorus which had won awards singing all over Europe.

Mr. QUINLAN. We also had our contributions of rock and roll at the Festival. We had a number of folk singers, including Jerry Silverman and Jim McDonald.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type presentations did the folk singers, Silverman and others, present for the entertainment of the delegates?

Mr. QUINLAN. In general they can be characterized as anti-American. Such songs as "We Ain't Going To Study War No More," "We Shall Overcome," and various sit-in movement songs. And they sang Negro spirituals as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any adult Americans not delegates to the Youth Festival, who either participated in forum or seminar discussions or who presented themselves as speakers to the American delegation?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, at the seminar on the roll of students in newly independent and colonial countries, Professor Holland Roberts and Gen. Hugh B. Hester both spoke, although they were not delegates from the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the Festival, did the International Preparatory Committee permit any seminars or forums which would leave the impression that there was free discussion and free debate on the issues before the Festival?

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes, on the last day a Free Tribune meeting was scheduled at the International Student Club. However, all signs announcing the Free Tribune were printed in English. At the Tribune the Soviet press corps arrived beforehand, setting up cameras, microphones, and banks of lights to photograph the delegates speaking at this free forum. At this particular session, a large number of the anti-Communist delegates to the Festival showed up. The conduct of the forum was such as to lead us to believe that this was a setup, a forum that was established in order to give us a chance to express our views without doing too much harm to the Festival, since it did come on the last day, after many delegates had left Helsinki. At this forum a large number of anti-Communists did speak and, incidentally, a large number of pro-Communist delegates also spoke. This would be the only example of real free speech that we could find in the Helsinki Festival.

Miss ECCLES. There is one other thing I happened to think of. At the seminar on Saturday morning, an American girl denied the fact

that she was an American. Of course, America had been up against attack all morning. She never said anything, but she was an American. The people next to her said, "What delegation are you from?" She said, "I am Cuban." I said, "No, you are not, you are an American."

She acknowledged shamefacedly, she had to admit it. She was sorry that she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Eccles and Mr. Quinlan, this morning you were questioned about whether or not the troika, Myerson, Tigar, and Prosten, ever protested against the rigging of the forums and seminars. Did any of these three, or the three collectively as a troika, ever protest the attacks which were being made upon the Government of the United States?

Miss ECCLES. To the best of my knowledge, they were in almost complete agreement with the attacks made upon the United States. They never once defended any of the points made by these speakers.

Mr. TAVENNER. From your conversations with these men, either before you went to Helsinki when you were working in the offices or in Helsinki, did you get an opportunity to determine whether they shared the views expressed by the speakers in their attacks upon the United States?

Miss ECCLES. I had just one opportunity to question Dick Prosten. Dick Prosten and I were talking about the airline strike. We didn't know whether we would be able to get over and back. He said it was a sorry state of affairs in America—Kennedy will call an 80-day cooling-off period and people are not allowed to strike any more and the Government is in a terrible situation. That is as far as I got with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have a discussion with Norman Berkowitz?

Miss ECCLES. Yes. He asked me why I was going to the Festival. I told him because I believe in peace. I asked him why he was going, and he said, "Because I have to. And I feel it is very important and I gave up a good paying job to do this work for the Festival and after my work is done I can relax and go home and get a good job again and raise a family."

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you add anything to Miss Eccles' testimony?

Mr. QUINLAN. On the conversations?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. QUINLAN. Yes. After the Soviet delegation meeting, I complained to Mr. Al Rabinowitz about the way that the Americans were being used to make Soviet propaganda. His reply was, "What did you expect when you came to this Festival?"

(Whereupon, at 2:25 p.m., Thursday, October 4, 1962, the hearings were concluded.)

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